The Classical Review

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THE most notable recent event in our classical world is the rejection by resident Oxford of a proposal that would make Greek an optional subject in her scheme of examinations. That in the University which has long been recognised as the home of the accepted, a proposition to lower this ancient language from its position of long-established supremacy would have been carried, had a dozen votes in a total of not far off four hundred changed sides, is a significant circumstance; and it cannot be doubted that there or elsewhere the opponents of Greek will presently renew the struggle. At Oxford this movement hardly possesses a history which can be expressed in dates and figures. It is otherwise at the sister University. There, more than thirty years ago, the question was definitely raised. The first proposal to make Greek optional was declined by the Senate on April 27, 1871, by 51 votes to 48; and, two years later, in February, 1873, a somewhat similar one was thrown out by 90 votes to 81. Nothing more was attempted for over five years, when, in response to an influentially signed memorial, the subject was again considered by a syndicate whose proposals were rejected in November, 1880, by a majority of 40, 185 non-placets to 145 placets. The last attempt in 1891, to reopen the question was nipped in the bud, the Senate refusing to appoint a syndicate by the crushing NO. CXLVI. VOL. XVI.

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majority of 525 to 185. These figures show that for some twenty years the cause of compulsory Greek at Cambridge had made substantial progress. But they prove nothing for the present. And the advocates of Greek at both Universities will be wise to regard the result of the recent division in the light of a reprieve. The supporters of the study of Greek in England have for the moment 'saved' it: it is now not less their duty to see that in future it shall be more worthy to be saved.

For the following communication we are indebted to Mr. T. R. Glover, late Professor of Latin in Queen's University, Canada:—

'For some years past the trend of education in Ontario has been against the Classics. Greek has for long been an optional subject in the Universities, while in the government examinations, though nominally optional, it is in reality almost penalized, by being excluded from the subjects required for the 'Teacher's Certificate.' The result is to be seen in the declining numbers of pupils learning Greek in the Secondary Schools, and it has been prophesied by one, who knows the education system well, that in twenty-five years there will probably not be half a dozen schools in all Ontario, in which Greek will be taught. It is true that with such prophets the wish is father to the thought, but that the prophecy can be made at all is very significant.

METAPHOR, WITH A NOTE ON TRANSFERENCE OF EPITHETS.

TRANSFERENCE of epithets was in its origin a metrical device for dealing conveniently with proper names, especially geographical. At first it was merely an ingenious expedient, but its elegance was pleasing to artistic sense, and so, as happens, it came to be sought and studied for its own sake. The Alexandrians of course seized upon it eagerly; any technical device of diction, though previously admitted only as a licence, it was characteristic of that school to cultivate as though it were a merit. But it was really useful in altering the termination of a name that was otherwise intractable; it was also a neat plan for accumulating details in description; and it acquired, I think, in some cases an artistic value which

has not been understood.

To begin with, we will take the case of proper names: Hom. Ε 741, λ 634 Γοργείην κεφαλήν δεινοίο πελώρου. Β 54 Νεστορέη παρά νητ Πυλοιγενέος βασιλήος. Lycophr. 58 τοῖς Τευταρείοις βουκόλου πτερώμασι. 1150 'Οδοιδόκειος 'Ιλέως δόμος. Nonn. D. 25. 385 'Ολύμπα βαύματα τέχνης. Verg. A. 12. 739 arma dei ad Volcania. Pind. fr. 112 Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα. Hor. C. iii. 29. 1 Tyrrhena regum progenies. Propert iii. 9. 1 eques Etrusco de sanguine regum. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1780 'Οπούντιά τ' ἄστεα Λοκρῶν. Nonn. D. 3. 186 'Ημαθίων Θρήϊσσαν έχων Cάμον "Αρεος εδρην. 43. 311 Cάμου Θρήϊσσαν ύπὸ σπήλυγγα Καβείρων. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1023 ἀνδρῶν Μακριέων Πελασγικὸν ἄρεα. Lucret. 5. 726 Babylonica Chaldaeum doctrina. 742, 6. 730 etesia flabra Aquilonum. 2. 501 Thessalico concharum tacta colore. Ov. Ibis 384 Thoanteae Taurica sacra deae. Catull. 64. 75 iniusti regis Gortynia tecta. Hor. C. ii. 12. 22 pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes. Lucret. 1. 474 Alexandri Phrygio sub pectore. 5. 24 Nemeaeus magnus hiatus ille leonis. Valgius Pylio profluxerit ore Nestoris.

The use of the adjective in such phrases as 'Αγαμεμνονίη άλοχος in Homer, & Κρόνιε παι 'Péas in Pindar, 'Αριστομένειον ω τέκος in Bacchylides, arose from the same reason.

σὺν ῷ σὰ Τροίαν ἄπολιν 'Ιλίου πόλιν in Eum. 460 seems defensible upon this ground, if we take Τροίαν or Τρώιαν as an adjective (see Leaf on Hom. A 129); or if we read Τρώων

as in Aesch. fr. 99. 19 2 τρωαν αστυ is a mis-

The MS. reading in Eum. 292 ἀλλ' εἴτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς is generally taken as an example of this transference of epithet, and so it may be; it would be equally good, however, if χώρας meant 'the Earth,' a partitive genitive substituted for yôs or χθονός, as in Herodas 3. 75 οὐδ' ὅκου χώρης is for οὐδ' ὅπου γῆς. There is the same uncertainty in other phrases of this type: Simonid. A.P. vii, 496 Cκιρωνικόν οίδμα θαλάσσης. Dionys. Perieg. 37 'Ηφον καλέουσι καὶ Ἰνδικὸν οίδμα θαλάσσης. Eur. H.F. 410 Εὔξεινον οἶδμα λίμνας. Α.Ρ. κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντου πλάκα. Cratin. Τροφ., in burlesque, καὶ Λεβάδειαν, Βοιώτιον οὐθαρ άρούρης. Nonn. D. 30. 209 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτην Ἡλιδα ναιετάουσαν,
 'Ολύμπιον οὖδας ἀρούρης.
 10. 139 ὑπὸ κλίμα Λυδον άρούρης. 14. 270 περί Φρύγα κόλπον apovons. What is the true nature of the formula? Is the genitive possessive, as in Ar. Av. 250 έπὶ πόντιον οίδμα θαλάσσης, Eur. Hel. 400 ἐπ' οδόμα πόντιον γλαυκῆς άλός, Nonn. 43. 225 Ἰσθμιον οδόμα λιπών Παλληνίδος άλμης, 44. 1 Ίλλυρίης Δαυλάντιον έθνος άρούρης, 48. 241 παρά σφυρά Δίνδυμα πέτρης? Or is it partitive, as Quint, 2, 651 would seem to be, κατ' 'Ηλύσιον πέδον αίης ? Ι conceive that in the uncertain cases the writer himself would have been wise to say that you might take your choice.

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When epithets transferred are found in Comedy, they are always in burlesque of Lyric style, or of Tragic, which derived its ornate character from Lyric: e.g. Ar. Vesp. 838 τροφαλίδα τυροῦ ζικελικήν, Ραπ 155 χρυσοχάλινον πάταγον ψαλίων, Αυ. 1198 δίνης πτερωτὸς φθόγγος, Anaxandrides Πρωτ. 1. 37 τερενόχρωτες μαζών όψεις, Antiphanes Φιλοθ. 1. 21 πυρωτοίς άνθράκων βαπίσμασιν, ξανθαίσιν avoais... The sort of expression these allude to are A.P. vii. 219 οὐκέτι χρυσοχάλι-

¹ ἀγέλα MS., which I correct: it is quoted by Ath. 631 c expressly as hyporchematic together with a fragment of Bacchylides οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμ-

² In v. 11 of that fragment παίδων ξμών I take to be a gloss on φυτευμάτων above.—While Nauck is in the reader's hands I would suggest the following ποθ' ίξει (for ήξει) των άκρων=έφίξει, as perhaps in O.C. 1566 πημάτων Ικνούμενον (i.e. Ικανώς έχοντα), uniess Ικνουμένων means Ικνουμένως έχόντων. Eur. fr. 815 κτίσαι for κτείναι as in Cho. 440. Aesch. fr. 134 στάξ (= στάγδην), κηροέντων φαρμάκων πολύς πόνοτ. 182 dele καὶ στρατάρχας καὶ έκατοντάρχας.

νον ὁρᾶ δρόμον Ἡελίοιο, ν. 270 κωμάζω χρύσειον ἐς αἰθέριον χόρον ἄστρων λεύσσων. Seymnus 260 σιδήρεός τε βαιστήρων κτύπος. Verg. A. 8. 526 Tyrrhenusque tubae clangor. Eur. Phoen. 1350 λευκοπήχεις κτύπους χεροῦν. Η. Ε. 882 ἐκατογκεφάλοις ³ ὀφίων ἀχήμασι. Soph. Phil. 693 στόνον αἰματηρόν. Aesch. Τheb. 335 βλαχαὶ δ' αἰματόεσσαι τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων ἀρτιτρεφείς βρέμονται. Eur. Cycl. 58 ποθοῦσί σ' ἀμερόκοιτοι βλαχαὶ σμικρῶν τεκέων.

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Such examples have usually been held sufficient warrant for the existence of each other; but the old rudimentary sort of comment, which was content merely to collect apparent similarities and to say 'compare' without explaining, does indeed provide material for criticism but will not always enlighten or convince. Thus it has been possible for Dr. Verrall to pronounce βλαχαί in Theb. 335 "an error by which every word becomes meaningless, converting the sentence into this, 'and the bloody bleatings of those babes, being new-suckled, roar." Now if you look at the examples quoted, you will see how commonly they describe impressions made upon the senses; and I think it will appear that in such cases the inaccurate attachment of the epithets has that further value that I spoke of, producing an effect confused. intentionally impressionistic. Infants at their mothers' breast, besmeared with blood, and passionately crying in their bleating voice; if you wish to convey the impressions vaguely flashed upon the eye and ear, you dab the various colours in among the substantives. Suppose, again, the effect you would describe is that of cattle moving slowly over ground and lowing as they go; you may describe it in the Epic manner like Theocritus 25. 96 παν δ' αρ' ένεπλήσθη πεδίον πάσαι δὲ κέλευθοι ληίδος έρχομένης, στείνοντο (σείοντο C. Hartung) δὲ πίονες ἀγροὶ μυκηθμῷ: or you may do it with the brief pictorial touch of Aeschylus in the Νιόβη (fr. 158) which Strabo quotes p. 580:

σπείρω δ' ἄρουραν δώδες' ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, Βερέκυντα χῶρον, ἔνθ' ᾿Αδραστείας ἔδος, "Ίδης τε μυκηθμοῖσι καὶ βρυχήμασιν ἔρπουσι μήλων πῶν ὀρεχθεύει πέδον.⁴

Instead of saying μυκηθμοῖσιν ἐρπόντων μήλων he says μυκηθμοῖσιν ἔρπουσι μήλων:

3 Restored for έκατὸν κεφαλαῖς the usual corruption of a compound epithet. The schol. on Hom. Il 170 says Πίνδαρος (fr. 259) πεντηκονταερέτμους φησι τὰς ναῦς τῶν 'Αχαιῶν είναι: a copyist being unfamiliar with the word, writes πεντήκοντα ἐρεγμούς, 'fifty beans.'

⁴ The MS. reading is πῶν δ' ὀρεχθέει according to Coraes, ἐρέχθει or ἐρέχθεον according to Nauck.

but from not perceiving this, the editors have made sad havoc of the passage, abolishing ερπουσι, changing "Iδης to "Iδη, and creating us an Erecthean plain in Phrygia. It would be possible to read δρεχθεῦον, understanding eori as with evel 'A. eoos, but the indicative seems better; and the form $\delta \rho \epsilon \chi \theta$ -I think more probable than ἐρεχθ-: it is Homer's βόες δρέχθεον Ψ 30, and so Aristias 5 has μυκαῖσι δ' ὤρέχθει τὸ (or ὤρεχθεῖτο : ὀρέχθει τὸ MS.) λάϊνον πέδον. The form in -ενω is a legitimate variety; many such were used in verse: Xenophanes, for instance, has πενταθλείν and πενταθλεύων in the same passage. The natural correction of Soph. El. 1070 is ὅτι σφιν ἤδη τὰ μὲν ἐκ δόμων νοσεύει (Dindorf for νοσεί), and is also the most rhythmical. See Lobeck Rhem. p.

There are two other passages in Aeschylus which I think this trick of language will explain. The first is *Persae* 277, where the Chorus say to the messenger

ότοτοτοῖ φίλων ἀλίδονα μέλεα πολυβαφῆ κατθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσι.

The sober sense is ἀλίδονα μέλεα κατθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι πλαγκτὰ ἐν πολυβαφέσι διπλάκεσσι; but this is one of those pictorial descriptions; their imagination shows them dead and mangled limbs tossed on the waves adrift in many-coloured garments; and the scattered way in which they jot the details in conveys the impression more effectively than if it were more accurately phrased. The Greek presents no difficulty now: 'in' a dress of any kind is regularly expressed by ἐν, and there is no objection to πλαγκτοῖς as a feminine.⁶ The dyed doublets—coats of many colours—are characteristic of the Orient.⁷

5 Quoted by Ath. 60 b under the heading MYK &I 'mushrooms,' and still quoted by the Dictionaries under μόκης, as though a plain could roar with mushrooms; those good little children of the earth are usually seen and not heard. It has long been evident that Athenaeus was mistaken, and that μύκαισι should be μυκαΐσι mugitibus. Another unrecognised dative has made trouble in Pers. 587 τὸ πὰπὸ τὸ ἡ κλύουσι τὸ κλύους in Arbousti κλύους in Cho. 587, e.g. ἀνταίων βρύουσι πλάθουσι καὶ πεδαίγιωι... κὰνεωίεντ' δυ ἀνίνδων φόσαι κότον.

τη Cho. 587, e.g. ἀνταίων Βρύουσι πλάθουσι και τεδαίχμιοι . . . κὰνεμόεντ' ἀν αἰγίδων φράσαι κότον. ο πλαγκετό οδτα (si vera lectio) Ag. 598, στυγητός P.V. 617, ἰαλτός Cho. 22, as κλυτός in Homer, δυνατός in Pind. N. ii. 14 where I see no reason to suppose with Prof. Bury a suggestion of masculinity.

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7 It is enough here to refer to Pliny viii. 195, vii. 196, Hdt. vi. 112.

The other passage is the comparison of kings to eagles in the Agamemnon, v. 48:

μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες *Αρη τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν οἴ τ' ἐκπατίοις ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων στροφοδινοῦνται

Criticism here has wavered between the MS. ἐκπατίοις and ἐκπάγλοις the conjecture of Blomfield. ἐκπάγλοις ἄλγεσι 'exceeding anguish' would of course be perfectly natural in language; it has been advocated by Prof. Housman, it is adopted by Dr. Wecklein in his school edition, Mr. Sidgwick thinks it very probable, and till recently I had inclined to it myself. But ἐκπατίοις is better rhythmically, and I believe there are many who will be glad to find a justification for their vague feeling that it is 'more

poetical'.

I must postulate here what I am presently about to prove and illustrate, that it was the pecular habit of Aeschylus to sustain his figures. Other poets are content with transitory metaphors, and that is one way of writing; no one but Aeschylus has his habitual practice—no one, perhaps, but Pindar had his power—of pursuing a similitude, of carrying a figure through. This passage, Agam. 47 seqq., is a very fine ex-Eagles always represented Kings, but the Kings here-for the two are closely coupled, and one's quarrel is the other's 8whose high bed has been robbed are compared to eagles whose high bed has been robbed, ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων, δεμνιοτήρη πόνον όλέσαντες. As the Kings launch forth in ships, so fly the eagles πτερύγων έρετμοΐσιν έρεσσόμενοι-this need not be pressed, but still it happily maintains the parallel. And then the likeness is pursued; the eagles in their lofty haunts are conceived as denizens (μέτοικοι) in the region of the loftiest-dwelling Gods,-Apollo, Pan, or Zeus; and as μέτοικοι when wronged appealed at Athens to their προστάται or 'patrons', so the eagles will appeal to these; One above will surely hear their cry and will defend their right. 'And thus continues Aeschylus, 'the Atridae are sent by a greater lord, Zevs Éévios, against Alexander'.

It is in the manner of Aeschylus, then, to choose an epithet which will bear out his comparison: and how such touches could be distributed among the substantives we have seen already. Now eagles and vultures were notoriously remote and solitary; so of course, from the nature of their high degree,

were Kings,—all Kings, though the more απρόσιτοι they were, the more marked was the resemblance: Horapoll. Hieroglyph. ii. 56 βασιλέα ιδιάζοντα καὶ μὴ ἐλεοῦντα ἐν τοῖς πταίσμασι βουλόμενοι σημῆναι, ἀετὸν ζωγραφοῦσιν οῦτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις τόποις ἔχει τὴν νεοσσιὰν καὶ ὑψηλότερος πάντων τῶν πετεινῶν ἵπταται.

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I wish I could go further without laying down more laws: but it is just these laws and principles that must be laid down if we are to understand Greek poetry, and I look in vain to find them recognised. The first principle of ornate diction is that it is a heightened style of speech: and this heightening is usually obtained, whether for serious writing or burlesque, for poetry or slang, by substituting synonyms for common words. Thus the common phrase for 'sick' is νόσον ἔχων: heighten this, and you get δύο νόσω κεκτημένος in Ion 603; still further and you have τῷ πεπαμένω νόσον in Ag. 826, in ordinary language τῷ ἔχοντι. principle is the clue to understanding much that is not generally understood.

If the substituted synonym should carry a special association of its own, you have a metaphor. Πηδὰ ἡ καρδία is the usual expression for 'a throbbing heart'; use heightened synonyms, and you might say ἄλλεται, χορεύει, or ὀρχεῖται (Cho. 166, Plat. Ion 536B, Ath. 687 f-688 c); then you have a metaphor from dancing, which might be pursued; this is what it engenders in the mind of Aeschylus: Cho. 1022 πρὸς δὲ καρδία φόβος ἄδειν ἔτοιμος, ἡ δ' ὑπορχεῖσθαι κρότφ. Reduced to its lowest terms that is

merely καρδία πηδά φόβω.

Metaphor is frequently developed from the equivocal meaning of a word. πούς for example meant both 'foot' and 'sheet' of a sail; hence Eur. Hec. 940 could say νόστιμον ναθς εκίνησεν πόδα. - παρπόδα, (τὸ) παρ ποδός or παρ ποδί meant 'immediate', but the meaning 'sheet' enables Pindar to evolve a metaphor, N. vi. 55 τὸ δὲ παρ ποδὶ ναὸς έλισσόμενον αἰεὶ κυμάτων λέγεται παντὶ μάλιστα δονείν θυμόν.—In P. iii. 82 τὰ μὲν ὧν οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλά τρέψαντες έξω the meaning 'bear in seemly fashion' shifts to 'wear becomingly', which leads to the figure from a garment .-Ιη Ο. χ. 7 εκαθεν γὰρ ἐπελθών ὁ μέλλων χρόνος έμον καταίσχυνε βαθύ χρέος· όμως δε λύσαι δυνατὸς ὀξείον ἐπιμομφὰν τόκος ὁράτω νῦν ψαφον έλισσομέναν όπα κυμα κατακλύσσει ρέον it is the word ψâφον which undergoes this sort of enharmonic change—a sea-change here-from 'reckoning' to 'pebble', and

⁸ This is the purpose of vv. 42-4.

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nge and πνεῦμα means either the breath of the wind or the spirit of a man 10 ; hence poetry can describe emotions of the spirit in terms belonging to a wind: Agam. 229 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν ' with a spirit veered to sin'. Theb. 692 ἐπεὶ δαίμων λήματος αὖ τροπαία χρονία μεταλλακτὸς ἴσως ἄν ἔλθοι θεμερωτέρω 11 πνεύματι 11 12 12 13 13 14 15 16 15 16 $^$

ποτάται is a word used of wind, whose wings are as it were felt fluttering; as in Cho. 388

τί γὰρ κεύθω $φρέν ° δ σε <math> ε ον ^{13} ἔμπας$ ποτ ε ται; πάροι θεν δ επρ <math> φρας δριμὸς ε ται κραδίας θυμός, ἔγκοτον στύγος.

⁹ I suspect another instance in P. ii. 90 στάθμας δε σίνος (δέτινος MSS.) ελκόμενοι περισσῶς ενέπαξαν ελκος όδυναρὸν έῷ πρόσθε καρδία πρὶν ὅσα φροντίοι μητίονται τυχεῖν, the metaphor arising out of the usual sense of σίνος 'physical injury.' But I must argue this another time.

This is the meaning of πνεῖν "Αρη, μένος, and the like.

¹¹ So Badham: Kaibel Ep. 824 "Αττει...τῷ πᾶσιν καιροίς θεμερώτερα πάντα φύοντι. It is suitable to wind, since Hesych. explains θεμερή by εὐσταθής.

¹² 'Set stubbornly before my consciousness,' as πάροιθεν πρώραs in Cho. 390. It alludes to the

12 · Set stubbornly before my consciousness, as πάροιθεν πρώραs in Cho. 390. It alludes to the phrases technically used of wind; στάσις, properly its setting in a certain quarter, ἰστάμενος, εὐσταθής, ἀντιοστατεῖν: so οὐριοστάταν νόμον in Cho. 817 is an allusion to the οὖρος διμνων.—Αροll. Rhod. 4. 820 has ἀκείας ἀνέμων άϊκες ἐρύξειν νόσφιν ἐϋσταθέος Ζεφόρου, but I do not think ἄῖκες οτ ἄῖκά has anything to do with Theocr. 30. 32 ἔμε μάν, φύλλον ἐπάμερον σμίκρας δεύμενον αδρας ὁ μέλλων αἴκα φορεῖ: I should complete Bergk's conjectures by reading δνέμων αἴσα κάκα as δαίμονος αἴσα κακή Hom. λ 61, Quint. 6. 416. In Theocr. 21. 65 I should read εἰ γὰρ μὴ κνώσσων τὰ πελάρια ταῦτα ματευσεῖς, ſοι τοῦτο χωρία, and in the Cῦριγς ενε. 13—17 ῷ . . . χαρείς

for δ... χαίροις.

¹³ The MS. φρενδαθεῖον I take to be a misreading of ΦΡΕΝΟΓΕΙΟΝ (ΕΙΟΝ read as ΘΙΟΝ), which is unquestionably in accordance with the Aeschylean use of figure. σείειν is a synonym of ταράσσειν, θράσσειν, 'shock' or 'agitate,' quassare; and, like δονεῖν, may be said of wind or spirit equally: Eur. H.Ε. 895 θύελλα σείει δῶμα. Ar. Αch. 12 πῶς τοῦτ' ἔσεισέ μου δοκεῖς τὴν καρδίαν, Liban. IV. 590. 4 τὸ γὰρ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπροσδάνητον ὅλον μου τὸν νοῦν διόεισευν. 174. 28 τὸ ἀπθες σείει τὰς γνώμες (ν.λ. ταράσσει). Hdt. vi. 109 ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγαλὴν διασείσειν ἐμπεσοῦσαν (like a sudden squall) τὰ τῶν 'λθηναίων φρονήματα. Plat. Tim. 48 p. Polyb. xviii. 28. 2, Bekk. An. 242. 9.

'—for how conceal the πνεῦμα that still keeps disquieting my breast?' σεῖον here is a synonym of ταράσσον. Another synonym applied to a vexed or troubled heart is κυκώμενον 14, which was used most commonly of eddying or tossing waves; hence when Aeschylus would express what Hecuba means in Eur. Hec. 80, ἔσται τι νέον ηξει τι μέλος γοερὸν γοεροῖς οὖποτ' ἐμὰ φρὴν δδ' ἀλίαστος (or ἀλίαστον) φρίσσει, ταρβεῖ, 'this violent agitation of my heart cannot be for nothing; it is surely a true presentiment' (Pers. 10, Trag. fr. adesp. 176), he can make his Chorus say

σπλάγχνα δ' οὔτοι ματάζει, πρὸς ἐνδίκοις φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις δίναις κυκώμενον ¹⁵ κέαρ.

'Nor idly do these vitals rage:—
My heart, against her barriers hurled,
Is dashed upon the truth, and whirled
On eddying tides of sure presage'. 16

All this is developed from the single word κυκώμενον.

Observe the way in which the adjectives ἐνδίκοις and τελεσφόροις are used. It is common enough in Greek, as κρητῆρα στήσασθαι ἐλεύθερον 'the bowl of freedom' in Hom. Z 528, ἀλώστμος βάξις Ag. 10, στόνον ἀντίτυπον βαρυβρῶθ' αίματηρόν in Soph. Philoct. 693, αδὸὰ τρυσάνωρ ib. 208; and so I should explain the last line of Bianor's epigram in A.P. vii. 49 which has usually been treated as corrupt:

'A Μακέτις σε κέκευθε τάφου κόνις' άλλὰ πυρωθεὶς

Ζανὶ κεραυνείω γαΐαν ἀπημφίασας τρὶς γὰρ ἐπαστράψας, Εὐριπίδη, ἐκ Διός αἰθηρ ἥγνισε τὰν θνατὰν σήματος ἱστορίαν.

'the lightning struck your tomb and purged away its record of mortality', destroyed,

Archil. fr. 66 θυμέ. . . κήδεσιν κυκωμένε, Frag.
 fr. (Clem. Al. p. 486) κυκώσιν ἀνθρώπων κέαρ.
 The MS., by a common error, has κυκλούμενον,

15 The MS., by a common error, has κυκλούμενον, which is absurd. κυκλοῦν, κυκλοῦνθαι never mean 'to eddy'; they always mean to circle round', and can only be applied to water which encircles, as the Wear encircles Durham, as the Adige surrounds Verona, the Tmolus Sardes, or the Ocean-stream the Earth. Troy was not encircled by the Xanthus of Scamander, therefore Γαχε καὶ Ξάνθου ποταμοῦ κυκλούμενον (δδωρ in Tryphiod, 325 is nonsense. When I restored κυκοώμενον (the regular description of this river, Hom. Φ 235, 240, 324, and a synonym of its other epithet δυτῆεν), I knew no reading but κυκλούμενον, which Mr. Weinberger (1896) has not known how to correct; but the variants he now records are typical: κωκλούμενον j, κυκλόμενον χ, κυκώμενον F, κυκοώμενον c.

16 Not 'aswirt with effectual throbs' as the latest version gives it (G. C. Warr). What notion of Aeschylus can a novice gather from such stuff?

that is, the inscription which described Euripides as mortal. See in the Dictionaries άγίζω, άγνίζω, άφαγ-, καθαγ-: άφαιᾶσαι in Hesych. (Menand. fr. 1128) should be ἀφαγιάσαι, itself an error for ἀφαγνίσαι: compare Soph. fr. 112 .- Dr. Postgate (1880) had remarked the same use of the adjective in Latin on Propert. v. 6. 62: "libera signa, not 'the enfranchised standards', but rather 'the standards of freedom', i.e. those maintaining freedom's cause. For the adj. cf. Pind. Pyth. 8. 98 ἐλευθέρφ στόλφ πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε 'in a course of freedom' (Fennell), ib. 1. 86 ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλώσσαν 'on an anvil of truth', with which compare v. 1. 107 verusque per astra trames, 'the path of truth'; cf. Catull. 68. 14 (Ellis)." That is generally the best way to render the effect in English, by a substantive; thus we might render the whole phrase in P. i. 86 νώμα δικαίφ πηδαλίω στρατόν, ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκενε γλώσσαν 'Let justice be the rudder of thy governance, and let thy tongue be forged in truthfulness'. The tongue is a sharp instrument ¹⁷, as in O. vi. 82 δόξαν έχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσα ἀκόνας λιγυράς, 'I feel upon my tongue a whetting (θηγάνη 'incentive') as it were to melody', so that there is nothing harsh in what follows, a μ' έθέλοντα προσέρπει καλλιρόοισι πνοαίς. Agam. 229 φρενός πνέων δυσσεβή τροπαίαν 'with a spirit veered to sin'. 27 δέξαιθ ἰκέτην τὸν θηλυγενη στόλον αἰδοιῷ πνεύματι χώρας 'let the wind that receives us be a spirit of kindness from the land'. At the end of the following passage there is a genitive arns with the same effect; Io in P.V. 907-12

κραδία δὲ φόβφ φρένα λακτίζει, τροχοδινεῖται δ' ὄμμαθ' ἐλίγδην, έξω δε δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης πνεύματι μάργω, γλώσσης ἀκρατής. θολεροί δε λόγοι παίουσ' είκη στυγνής πρὸσ κύμασιν ἄτης.

έξω δρόμου φέρεσθαι is usually said (as in Cho. 1020) of a charioteer whose horses run away with him; but the phrase permitted Aeschylus to make his metaphor a ship carried out of her course by violent wind -the spirit or emotion here of Io 18.

17 Ach. Tat. viii. 9 την γλώσσαν είς ἀσέλγειαν

ἀκονᾳ.

18 Even she is not distraught enough to say her heart is circling round her diaphragm! A straitwaistcoat would have been the only remedy for that. wastcost would have been the only remedy for that. But anatomy and physiology are not the strong points of the editors; in Ag. 76 the marrow, regent in its frame of bone and dominating vital functions (Tim. Locr. 100, Plat. Tim. 73), they represent as shooting up (ἀνάσσων) like a beanstalk!

In Aeschylus a figurative conception will run through a whole play; from the beginning to the end of the Seven against Thebes there is the storm-tossed ship of State; the Trojan quarrel is a case-at-law, Agam. 41, 58, 458, 530, 537-42; in the Choeph. the enterprise of Orestes is an άγών 19: the murderous usurpers in the House of Agamemnon are as it were a foul corruption or disease, to be purged out by Orestes, like another Heracles, with drastic remedies, 469-472, 955 βλάβαν έγχρονισθείσαν malum inveteratum, 964 όταν άφ' έστίας πῶν ἐλαθῆ μύσος καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτῶν Magnificent single passages έλατηρίοις. crowd upon the memory, as Agam. 1179 the Spirit or prophetic inspiration, coming like a rushing mighty wind, will wash the unseen horror to the light as though it were a wave rolled up against the Orient rays: 1187 the κῶμος, drunken well with human blood, refusing to be sent away, sits fast against the chambers singing; and their song is deadly Primal Sin; ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν is part, I think, of the same image 20.

In Cho. 32 the cry from the women's chambers caused by terror of prophetic dream likened by sustained suggestive language (τορὸς ὀρθόθριξ ἔλακεν etc.) to the cry from the prophetic cell.-In Eum. 556-568 the shipwrecked sinner τον πρίν ολβον έρματι προσβαλών Δίκας, which may be compared for contrast with the vague generality of Soph. Ant. 854. Theb. 839, O waft him on the tide of tears with plashing arms like oars about your head. . . to give him passage in his black-sailed missionbarge to the shore untrodden of Apollo.'

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Agam. 445:

Ares, the Body-changer, worth who weighs In balance where the battling spear assays, Fined in the furnace back from Ilium sends A heavy dust in sooth to weeping friends; Receiving human bulk, returns due load,-In small jars powder decently bestowed.

Every word here has a double application, down to εὐθέτους: the money-changer gives you small and handy vessels (habiles) of gold-dust (the usual sense of $\psi \hat{\eta} \gamma \mu a$); but εὐθετείν νεκρόν was mortuum componere: Bekk. An. 40. 23, εὐθετεῖν νεκρόν: τὸ εὖ

¹⁹ C.R. 1900, p. 198. I have since found from lomfield's note that the conjecture ἀναδεῖν for Blomfield's note ανιδείν in v. 803 had been made before by Musgrave. How Blomfield came by it I do not know, but it has escaped even Dr. Wecklein's notice. Compare the vase-painting described by Prof. Jebb Electra, p. xiv. 20 Jeremiah 25. 27, Lucian i. 750.

κοσμεῖν ἐν τάφοις νεκρόν. Cf. Thesaur. s.v. τίθημι pp. 2164, 2175 fin.

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There are more parallels than are commonly remarked in Agam. 718 seqq. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἴνιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτα βούτας ἀνήρ. . ., where the correction of ἀγάλακτον οἴτως is due to Wecklein after van Heusde's βότας: if any one still doubts it, let him remember that Paris himself was habitually called βούτας²¹ and the like.

ἀμφέρειν in Cho. 840 means 'to shoulder' (cf. ἀναφορεύς, ἀνάφορον).—Another example still remains obscured in the editions:

Τροίαν κα τα σ κ ά ψ α ν τα τοῦ δικηφόρου Διὸς μα κ έλλη, τη κα τείρ γ α σ τα ι π έδο ν Καὶ σ π έρ μα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χ θ ο ν ός,

he hath digged up Troy With mattock of Zeus Justicer, whereby

With mattock of Zeus Justicer, whereby The soil of her is overturned and broke And her seed rooted out of all the land.

The continued figure is interrupted in the MS. by an illustrative quotation (which has been incorporated from the margin) of Pers. 813 $\beta\omega\mu$ ol δ' ἄιστοι καὶ θέων ἰδρύματα (πρόρριζα ψύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων). Not only does it interrupt the construction and the figure, but as a proud boast in the mouth of a Greek herald it would be a monstrous and hideous absurdity.²²

There is another fine Aeschylean image which the MS, has ruined, but a touch of Hermann's has restored. Editors have not been able to receive the restoration, but I hope in future they may feel as I do. Agamemon, speaking of this most famous fire of Troy, describes it thus, v. 809:

καπνῷ δ' άλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὖσημος πόλις·
"Ατης θυηλαὶ ζῶσι, συνθνήσκουσα δὲ
σποδὸς προπέμπει πίονας πλούτου πνοάς.

The city's capture even now Shows manifest by the smoke: life smouldering yet

In Doom's burnt-sacrifice, the expiring ash Pants forth his opulent breath in puffs of wealth.

As Clytemnestra (1434) says she has slain her husband in sacrifice to " $\Lambda\tau\eta$, and as in *Theb.* 938 after the brothers have fallen by each other's hands, the chorus say 'The trophy of " $\Lambda\tau\eta$ is set up at the gates where they were slain,' so Troy with all her insolent wealth—the cause of her damn-

21 Eur. Hec. 640 ἀνὴρ βούτας, 926, Andr. 277, Nicand. fr. 108.

²² As I pointed out in C.R. 1898, p. 246.

This developed use of metaphor by Aeschylus is but one manifestation of his vast ereative and constructive power. No great poet has been less appreciated—I am not saying 'less admired,' but as an artist Aeschylus has been appreciated even less perhaps than Pindar: and in my opinion to enable those who love great poetry to appreciate these two great poets is the task best worth pursuing that remains to scholars. The Athenians were Ionian; and the quality they inherited and developed was lucidity; an admirable quality; and by its help the Athenian mind expressed itself eventually in admirable prose; but the defect of it is that by leaving nothing to the imagination, by abolishing suggestion, it becomes the death of poetry. And poetry died soon at Athens; at least it could only survive when it was drunkenin the dithyramb. Now Aeschylus was very far from being a typical Athenian; his moral sympathies are Dorian, Hebraic, Stoic, Puritan—they are all one schooland his sympathies in art were with the Dorian and Pindar, just as those of Sophocles, his opposite in every way, were with Ionian and Bacchylides. But the evolution of Athenian style according to its tendency was rapid; already to the age of Aristophanes Aeschylus appeared ἀξύστατος, incompositus, disjointed, ill put together, inconsistent, and the cry has been parroted

²³ In Ag. 121 the Kings subduing Troy with her teeming multitude inside are typified by eagles βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν, ἐρικύματα φέρματα, γένναν, βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων. Aeschylus I suspect was thinking of that remarkable passage—Hesiodic or Orphic in character rather than Ionic—about **Aτη and the Λιταί: Hom. I 505 ἡ δ' **Ατη σθεναρή τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὕνεκα πάσας πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέτε πάσαν ἐπ' αἰαν βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους, with βλαφθεὶς in 512. In Ag. 406, when **Ατη has her way, λιτᾶν ἀκούει οὐδεὶς θεῶν.

²⁴ Ach. Tat. i. 8 τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλένης τῶν γάμων πῦρ ἀνῆψε κατὰ τῆς Τροίας ἄλλο πῦρ.

through Quintilian and Longinus ever since. He would not have appeared so to the countrymen of Pindar; nor after long and patient study does he appear so now to me. On the contrary, in his elaborated plays at least, the Agamemnon and Choephoroe, I find what is to me the highest of artistic powers, the power of construction, of designing a composition from the beginning to the end and controlling the relations of one part to another,-the power that corresponds to strategy as opposed to tactics, or the statesman's power as opposed to the mere politician's,—the power that in art is exhibited in the highest degree by Beethoven. Beethoven too has in his time been thought aξύστατος: and certainly, if their opinion of his composition is represented by their versions, Aeschylus may well appear aξύστατος to modern critics too! But from not knowing the effect of particles, from not understanding the order of the words, and from being unfamiliar with ideas, they are unable to see more than single passages, and fail to appreciate the connexions and construction of the whole.

For example, it has been usual to ridicule the behaviour of the elders at the crisis of the Agamemnon. They are forbidden of course by the exigencies of the stage to leave their place and interfere; and, besides, if they were to interfere they would prevent the tragedy.25 Now early in the play they have themselves pathetically dwelt upon their feeble ineffective age; they are in their second childhood, and the ἀλκά of song is the only puissance that now remains to them. The beauty of the single passage has of course been felt; but no one has ever noticed that it is carefully designed: the object of it is to prepare you for their inaction at the crisis; the instinct of their senility then causes them to fall at once into a regular debate, which is regularly summed up. To any one familiar with Greek ideas their conduct would appear quite natural, for ἔργα νέων βουλαὶ δὲ γερόντων was proverbial. It would be easy to show that in this department of the playwright Euripides, who sneers at him, is himself the clumsiest botcher in com-

It was in the construction of sustained and varied lyrics that the genius of Aeschylus for design was most at home.

25 The Nurse in the *Trachiniae* 890, 927 does not attempt to interfere with Deianira, but seeing her on the point of committing suicide, runs off to inform Hyllus. See the excuses which the Chorus make in Eur. *Med.* 1273, *Hippol.* 776.

If any one should wish to estimate it, let him study the second stasimon of the Agamemnon, from 367 to 480, and observe what happens. It opens, in the preliminary anapaests, with a confident Te Deum after triumph; by the time you reach the end you have gradually been plunged into the deepest gloom of apprehension: and the result has been achieved by the consummate skill of the transitions, which carry you from shore to shore, from thought to thought, as boldly and rapidly as the reflections of an active mind; they are meant to represent the rapid movement of men's thoughts. The connexions are not always obvious, because they assume the ideas that would be in a Greek man's thoughts to be familiar; and from the causes I have mentioned the development of such a Chorus is quite unintelligible in the translations. I will only explain here a few of the points that have been missed.

Ιn 374 Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι τὸν τάδε πράξαντα means 'This is the Lord's doing', 'It is Zevs Éévios that I acknowledge as the author of this act': the emphatic words are Δία τοι, where τοι insists upon the statement; every one knows the use of it in hailing a person, ω σέ τοι καλώ, but that is only one case of a more general use. 701 makes an appeal to the knowledge or conscience of the hearer and so is often used in assertion, as οὖτοι in negation, to lay stress upon the word it goes with. Examples are Ag. 913, 1031, 1039, Cho. 913, Supp. 375, 545, Eum. 758, Soph. El. 582, 624, 773, Phil. 1095, Pind. P. v. 122: so in $\epsilon \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon$ $\tau \omega$ 'this is the reason' Ag. 867, 1603, Cho. 1054, not as Mr. Tucker renders it 'in such a case, you know'.

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Then, at the beginning of the lyric, they corroborate this declaration and pursue it:

Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν' εἰπεῖν πάρεστιν τοῦτό τ' ἐξιχνεῦσαι· ἔπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν.

"The stroke of Zeus it is which they have felt" may be pronounced and fully traced: his act was according to his determination'. ἔπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν takes up τὸν τάδε πράξαντα: 'his act was merely the deliberate execution of premeditated purpose: not only may we safely ascribe the fall of Troy to Zeus, but we may trace the cause and see his motive in retribution for the sin of Paris, made insolent with riches'.26

26 For the remainder of the strophe see C. R. 1901, p. 105.—Perhaps the original was kκρανεν ώς, έπραξεν as in 1658 I would write χρην τάδ΄ ώς, έπραξαμεν από in 921 εἶπον τάδ΄ ώς, πράσσοιμ' ἀν In 924 correct έρδειν to ἔρξειν.

435 τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφεστίους ἄχη τάδ' έστι καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα. 27 τὸ πῶν δ' ἀφ' "Ελλανος αἴας συνορμένοις πένθει' ἀτλησικάρδιος δόμων έκάστου πρέπει" πολλά γουν θιγγάνει πρὸς ήπαρ. Such within doors at home the suffering

is; Yea, more exceeding bitter yet than this :

Abroad, the large host parted from their native shore.

For them their portion due Is loud heart-broken rue;

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Their own have cause enough, may touch the core!

The long-lost men they sped They know; but in their stead Those to their several homes return Are ashes and an urn.

The dative συνορμένοις, which editors have been content to leave without construction, is dependent upon $\pi \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota$: the fitting tributes to a conqueror are praise and honour as in Pind. N. iii. 67 βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρφ σὺν 'Αριστοκλείδα πρέπει: praise also is the fitting tribute to the dead, only in their case it takes the form of regretful lamentation.28 Now you see that γοῦν is not without a meaning; it depends on πρέπει: there is cause enough why lament should be be-

In 471 παλιντυχεί τριβά βίου the meaning of τριβα is 'attrition of his life' or 'estate' as Fortune caused him to wax great unrighteously, so the Erinyes cause him eventually to wane again and dwindle, minishing him to a faint shadow, till at last

27 Or ὑπερφατώτερα as Prof. Herwerden has lately Tor διεφρατατερά as troi. Betwetten has laway proposed; it is an extremely easy alteration, and so would be δ πολύφατός τ' ἀγὰν βροτῶν in Theb. 759, if not in Pind. fr. 75: cf. P. xi. 47, Hom. β 50 and the oracle in Hdt. v. 78.—ὑπερβαρτον in Aesch. fr.

99. 21 may be for ὑπέρφατον οι ὑπέρβατον.
²⁸ In accordance with this idea I should like briefly to propose a new view of Cho. 314 τί σοι φάμενος ἡ τί ῥέξας τύχοιμ' ἄν σ' ἔκαθ' οὐρίσας () ἔνθα ' Έχουσιν εύναί ; σκότω φάος αντίμοιρον, ' χάριτες ' δ' όμοίως κέκληνται γόος εὐκλεὴς προσθοδόμοις Ατρείδαις. By what word or act can I waft you hither? Light is the counterpart of darkness, and accordingly (in the underworld where all things are reversed), belauding lamentation is called a gratification to the dead', who are in this case 'the former Atreidae of the house'. Cf. Soph. El. 1066. I don't see why προσθοδίως should not admit this sense as well as 'before the snout not atmit this sense as well as 'before the house'.—In Theb. 195, by the way, I would suggest πρόδομος for πρόδομος, a common error.—Or, with the same punctuation, a slightly different application is suggested by Pind. O. viii. 77 seqq., 'Both Light and Darkness have their corresponding claims'.—In Cho. 329 μαγεύει for ματεύει is a tempting change, 'acts like an ἐπφδή on the dead'.

he vanishes to nothing,—disappears in Hell.29 The working of a curse-of which the Erinyes are the embodiment-upon the conscience of the victim is more fully pictured in the Eumenides: they suck his blood, until they have worn him away to a shadow (264-7, 302, 360, 371, 938), and then drag him down to Hell (267) from which there is no escape (175, 341).

The Chorus for dramatic purposes are made to doubt the evidence of Agamemnon's beacons; in a conversation among themselves, 481 sqq., they pooh-pooh it:

What man so childish or so warped of wit Would let the tinder of his brain be lit By fiery messagings in flame, To sink when contradiction came?

'Tis woman's lightness, the consenting 'yes'

To pleasure ere the plain apparentness. Feminine assenting where her wishing

Makes fiery way; like fire in hay, So quickly perisheth fame a woman cries!

Their phrases are mockingly borrowed from the fire, πυρωθέντα καρδίαν in 487, and 491 πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θηλυς ἔρος 80 ἐπινέμεταιfor there were two things ἐπινέμεσθαι was so commonly applied to that the original metaphor from grazing cattle was forgotten in their case and became appropriated to themselves, - the ravages of fire or of disease ('the disease spreads like wildfire in dry grass' is a phrase I lately read). There is a playful application of the word in Plut. Mor. 415 F δρω την Cτωικην έκπύρωσιν ωσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐπινεμομένην έπη ούτω καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσαν: and what the Elders mean (with an undercurrent of allusion to her amorous intrigue and protestations) is that a woman is ready to accept good news upon the slightest warrant (quo rumorem reconciliationis

²⁹ See Hes. Op. 321-6, and observe the Aeschylean treatment of the abstract notion. It may have been

treatment of the abstract notion. It may have been developed more in Orphic poems.

30 Blomfield's suggestion for 5pos of the MS., which some still think can be interpreted with Donaldson New Cratylus p. 296 'From excessive credulity the boundaries of a woman's mind are easily encroached upon': they see nothing unlikely in the passive sense of \$\tilde{\ell}\tilde{ or in επινέμεσθαι δρον as a phrase. δρος was a limit, boundary, dividing line, or stone to mark it; to cross this limit was δπερβαίνευ, which might be heightened to δπερπηδάν or ὁπερθορεῖν: but ἐπινέμεσθαι ὅρον 'to range over the surface of a limit'. no Greek ever said, nor ever will until a line shall be a space. But with some minds the wish to believe in manuscript tradition πιθανδς άγαν έπινέμεται ώστε ράδίως τοὺς δρους της Έλληνων φωνης ύπερπηδαν.

efficeret, acciperetque Agrippina, facili feminarum credulitate ad gaudia Tac. Ann. xiv. 4), without waiting for proof visible and palpable, πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος: such premature rejoicing is presently apt to be extinct as the fire among the thorns. The next moment, however, they descry to davév in the person of the herald, evidently bringing definite important news, such dust he raises (or has gathered) travelling. This messenger will not σημανεί καπνώ πυρόςanother sneer 31 - άλλ' ή τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον έκβάξει λέγων, - τον αντίον δε τοισδ' αποστέργω λόγον· εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φαν εῖσι προσθήκη πέλοι: '—or else—but nay, no more now of the sceptical despondent view! Here is patent evidence; in seeming, joyful: may there be joy to cap it!'

We must not, however, look to discover this method of pursuing images in poets whose way of writing was entirely different. In Class. Rev. 1888 p. 224 Prof. Bury sought for more consistency in the imagery of Soph. Ant. 782 "Ερως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, objecting to ὁ δ' ἔχων μέμηνεν 'inasmuch as Love is not conceived as a disease but as a warrior.' Now no one is more different from Aeschylus in his way of work than

Timon in Lucian i. 100 says Zeus' thunderbolt is καπνὸς ἀτεχνῶς. Schol. Ar. Αυ. 822 λέγεται ὅτι μεγαλέμπορός τις ἔβούλετο εἶναι περαἶτης ὰλάζων, ψευδόπλουτος. ἐκαλείτο δὲ Καπνός, ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχυούμενος οὐδὲν ἐτέλει.

Sophocles; he does not carry figures through, but works by transient allusive touches: and in this Chorus he is touching upon all the familiar commonplaces about Epws. One was that Love was a disease; another was his empire over gods as well as men, and over creatures of the sea and sky as well as of the land: there are critics who resent any reference to this in φοιτᾶς δ' ὑπερπόντιος εν τ' ἀγρονόμοις αὐλαῖς, but the audience must inevitably have felt it, and it would be strange if it had not been intended by the poet. But the principle I stated in C.R. 1900 p. 12b in remarking on Bacchylides has yet to be appreciated, and the critics of Greek lyric poetry are all at fault because they start from a wrong point of view. They look with modern eyes for originality of idea; what a Greek audience looked for was the established permanent ideas, with perfection-which gave scope for originality in the treatment. The motto of Greek lyrics would have been 7à κοινά καινώς, and what correspond to them are variations on a theme in modern music. So that what we have to do is to become familiar with the themes. The main theme on which Sophocles is playing in this Chorus is θεσμὸν Έρως οὐκ οἶδε βιημάχος, the proverbial phrase of which Paul. Silent. makes a clever application in A.P. v. 293.

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OVID ART. AM. I 337.

Fleuit Amyntorides per inania lumina Phoenix.

This verse has both a superfluity and a defect. It is not the usual practice of Ovid or of other Latin poets to add the name when the patronymic suffices: their usual practice is seen in 11 Phillyrides, 17 Aeacidae, 334 Atrides, 509 Minoida, 743 Actorides, (I omit 691), to which may be added 187 Tirynthius, 327 Cressa, 527 Gnosis, 682 Scyrias puella (I omit 556). Examples of the contrary, like Ib. 480 Crotopiaden Linum, are uncommon. This however is little in itself, and only becomes noteworthy when taken together with a second point. inania for caeca is a use which I find only in the silver age, and which even in the silver age perhaps occurs no more than once. Seneca writes in Phoen. 42 sq. 'inanes manibus infestis petit | foditque uultus' and in Oed. 1011 sq. 'quo auertis caput | uacuosque

uultus' and Statius in Theb. i 53 sqq. 'tunc uacuos orbes (see iv 471 cauos orbes), crudum ac miserabile uitae | supplicium, ostentat caelo manibusque cruentis | pulsat inane solum' and in x 697 'cui uultus inanis'; here however the substantives denote not the eyes but the face or the sockets of the eyes, and the adjectives signify not 'blind' but 'eyeless'. The one parallel that I know of is Val. Fl. iv 435 'oculos attollit inanes'. When Ovid himself elsewhere employs the word in this connexion he explains its meaning by adding a genitive, met. xiv 200 'inanem luminis orbem'. And when he elsewhere speaks of Amyntorides and his blindness he neither adds Phoenix nor omits luminis: Ib. 259 sq.

id quod Amyntorides uideas, trepidumque ministro

praetemptes baculo luminis orbus iter.

So I retrench the superfluous to repair the defective, and write

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fleuit Amyntorides per inania lumina lucis,

comparing met. i 720 'quodque in tot lumina lumen habebas | extinctum est'. This conjecture of mine was made public in 1894 by Mr G. M. Edwards in the Corpus Poetarum.

It is known, or rather it ought to be known, that marginal glosses are a worse danger to poetry than to prose. Into prose they intrude, and there for the most part their mischief ends. When in Tac. hist. ii 28 is found 'sin uictoriae sanitas sustentaculum columen in Italia uerteretur', Nipperdey has only to strike out sanitas sustentaculum and compare gloss. Placid. v 11 10 columen uel sanitas uel sustentaculum. In Cic. ad Q. fr. ii 10 1 are these words, 'nam pridie Id. cum Appius senatum infrequentem coegisset, tantum fuit frigus, ut populi conuicio coactus sit nos dimittere', where populi is unintelligible and Mr Tyrrell corrects pipulo. But convicio is to be expelled at the same time, for these two words are synonyms and the one is the conventional gloss upon the other: see Non. 152 3 pipulo pro conuicio, corp. gloss. Lat. v 133 pipulo conuicio, 233 pipolo conuicio, 473 pipulo conuicio plorat (i.e. ploratu), 607 pipuli conuitio plorati, 630 pipuli conuitio plorato. Here the insertion of the gloss has caused a slight further injury to the text.

But into the rigid framework of verse a gloss can seldom intrude without extruding something else. Verg. georg. iv 355 sq.

tristis Aristaeus Penei genitoris ad undam stat lacrimans.

Penei ($\Pi\eta\nu\epsilon\iota o\hat{v}$) is a molossus and destroys the verse. 'Crediderim dedisse poetam

tristis Aristaeus magni genitoris ad un-

mox inter lineas glossema additum *Penei*, et postea ab indocto librario textui insertum' Bentley at Luc. iii 191. Or take Catull. 63 75

geminas deorum ad auris noua nuntia re-

deorum, as Lachmann says at Lucr. i 824, is 'ineptissimum': he substitutes matris, over which some reader had written deorum to explain that Cybele was meant.¹

It is true that this correction, though accepted by Haupt and Vahlen, is rejected by many editors and even by Lucian Mueller. Most scholars have

'Haec Ehwaldi causa exponenda putaui; qui si haec recte percipiet, fortasse iam per se dicere poterit unde in Ouidii uersum uenerit superuacaneum illud Phoenix.' Here I have adapted to the present occasion the words which Lachmann ad loc. addressed to Forbiger. Mr Ehwald, recording my conjecture in Bursian's Jahresbericht, Band cix p. 277, exclaims 'lucis st. Phoenix!' There you see the modern editor of Ovid: unacquainted with textual criticism, and content to remain so; unwilling to learn, unwilling to think. He has not heard that glosses are written in margins and find their way into texts, and he has no desire to hear it. If he chances upon critics who have learnt their trade and practise it, the spectacle does not arouse his curiosity nor induce him to reflect; it only sets him exclaiming in blank astonishment at the existence of human beings so unlike himself. magni st. Penei! matris st. deorum!

Again: in her. xx 198 most MSS have 'anxia sunt uitae pectora nostra tuae,' but the oldest extant has uita...tua. Since it is not apparent why the genitive, which makes sense, should have been altered into the ablative, which does not, I conjectured (C.R. xi p. 430) causa...tua, and quoted examples of causa (ca) confused with uita. Mr Ehwald, p. 252, utters another exclamation: 'die Konstruktion anxius e. gen. sollte doch ein Ovidkritiker nicht antasten -nobody that I know of has made any attack on anxius c. gen.—'und causa tua st. tua causa!' This is Mr Ehwald's way of telling the world that he does not know of Hor. serm. i 4 97 sq 'causaque mea permulta rogatus | fecit,' Ter. eun. 1070 causa mea,' Plaut. aul. 799 'causa mea, Bacch. 89 'causa tua,' 436 'causa mea,' 521 'causa mea,' 524 'causa mea,' Cas. 269 'causa mea,' Curc. 150 'causa mea,' Men. 1147 'causa mea,' merc. 151 'qui me rupi causa currendo tua, most. 1169 'causa mea, 1177 'causa mea,' Poen. 370 'causa mea.

In vol. xiv of this Review, p. 413, I withdrew the conjecture 'amaro pascitur eruo' for amara...herba in met. i 632, which I had published ten years before in 1890, and said 'this is wrong: Ovid is imitating the verse of Caluus quoted by Seruius at Verg. buc. vi 47 herbis pasceris amaris.' This was in November 1900; and my note was duly indexed under the heading 'Ouidius' in the

their own notion of the galliambic metre (which they pronounce like The love that I have chosen, I'll therewith be content or Die alten bösen Lieder, die Träume schlimm und ary) and do not enquire what notion the Romans had of it.

Bibliotheca Philologica Classica which forms an annual appendix to the Jahresbericht. Mr Ehwald, who in reviewing the Ovidian literature of 1890 mentioned none of the conjectures which I published in that year, now, in what purports to be a 'Jahresbericht über Ovid von Mai 1894 bis Januar 1902, writes on p. 279 as follows '632 amaro pascitur eruo (so trotz des Licinius Caluus amaris pascitur herbis!).' This note of exclamation is perhaps meant to signalise the remarkable hexameter 'a uirgo infelix, amaris pascitur herbis,' which is not the work of Licinius Caluus.

At her. xiii 74 I proposed (C.R. vol. xi p. 201) to substitute the 'ut rapiat Paridi quam Paris ante sibi ' of other MSS for the 'hostibus e mediis nupta petenda uiro est' of PGV. Mr Ehwald comments, p. 250, 'die Fassung von P ist demnach interpoliert;'appalling contingency,-'ich glaube, dass dem Zusammenhang nach petenda uiro est unentbehrlich und der metrische Fehler Paridi ein sicherer Beweis für die Interpolation ist.' The same 'metrische Fehler' is therefore 'ein sicherer Beweis für die Interpolation' of her. viii 20 'nupta foret Paridi mater ut ante fuit and remed. 711 'utraque formosae Paridi potuere uideri.' 1 sometimes wish that Ovid's editors, instead of editing Ovid, would read him.

And when I express my opinion of the group to which this metrist and grammarian and critic belongs by saying 'who was Haupt, that an editor of Ovid should listen to him?' he is aggrieved, and protests 'ich bestreite Herrn Housman das Recht, in dieser Weise zu urteilen.'

I will try to remove two more glosses from verses which they seem to have invaded.

Nemes. cyneg. 199-201.

quin acidos Bacchi latices Tritonide oliuo admiscere decet, catulosque canesque maritas unguere profuerit tepidoque ostendere soli.

Pretty Latin is Tritonis oliuum. They conjecture oliva: but the corruption of oliva, with Tritonide beside it, to olivo would be a strange event; and what you would mix with vinegar to make an ointment is not the berry of the olive but its oil. Expel the gloss and write Tritonide pingui or dulci or the like. Ou. her. xix 44 'Pallade iam pingui tinguere membra putas, trist. iv 5 4 ' uigil infusa Pallade flamma, Mart. vii 28 3 ' nec Tartesiacis Pallas tua, Fusce, trapetis | cedat.' Tritonide in Stat. silu. ii 7 28 'Tritonide fertiles Athenas' means oliva rather than olivo. In Nemes. buc, ii 42 a similar gloss has invaded only part of the MSS: 'nostri pocula Bacchi' V, uini NG.

Prop. iii 19 17-20.

nam quid Medeae referam quo tempore matris

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iram natorum caede pianit amor quidue Clytaemestrae propter quam tota

Mycenis infamis stupro stat Pelopea domus?

The first thing to consider is the construction of 17 sq. Whether Propertius would say 'quid referam quo tempore piauit?' instead of piarit, it is superfluous to enquire; because the question 'why should I mention the date of Medea's crime?' is absurd. Therefore, unless the words are to be altered, 'quo tempore piauit' is a temporal clause; and an accusative noun for Medeae (and Clytaemestrae) to depend upon and for referam to govern must by some means or other be procured. Passerat airily says 'supple nequitiam et scelus'; Burmann 'ex praecedenti disticho crimen subintellegendum est', which sounds well enough so long as you fix your attention firmly on the six letters c, r, i, m, e, n, and abstain from enquiring what they mean. The preceding distich is this, 'crimen et illa fuit, patria succensa senecia, | arboris in frondes condita Myrrha nouae'; and crimen means 'an object of reproach', 'an infamous woman'. Now attach to it the genitives Medeae and Clytaemestrae if you can. Lachmann could not, and even said 'ferri non potest'; the present generation however can do and suffer many things which were out of Lachmann's power.

Construction and sense, though not elegance of diction, might be obtained in this way: 'quid Medeae referam quo pectore (Palmer) matris | iram natorum caede piarit (nescio quis) amor, | quidue Clytaemestram (Guietus)' etc. But this piecemeal patching carries no conviction with it : all can be set straight by a single assumption, and that the simplest possible, -that Clytaemestrae

is a gloss.

nam quid Medeae referam, quo tempore matris

iram natorum caede piauit amor, quidue tuum facinus, propter quam tota Mycenis

infamis stupro stat Pelopea domus?

Or eius furias or anything similar and suitable. The construction is 'quid Medeae facinus referam, quidue tuum?': for the postponement of the substantive compare Hor. carm. iii 1 5 sq. 'regum timendorum in proprios greges, | reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis', and i 34 5 sqq. 'te pauper ambit sollicita prece | ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris | quicumque Bithyna lacessit | Carpathium pelagus carina', where every Roman child felt in the marrow of his bones that ruris depended upon dominam, though in modern times only a handful of scholars have recognised it even after Markland pointed it out. Propertius himself appears to have employed a still bolder construction of the same sort at ii 15-8:

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siue illam Cois fulgentem incedere coccis,¹
hac totum e Coa ueste uolumen erit,
seu uidi ad frontem sparsos errare capillos,
gaudet laudatis ire superba comis;

which is exactly like frag. trag. adesp. ap. Stob. flor. 64 31:

εὶ μὲν πρὸς αὐγὰς ἡλίου, χρυσωπὸν ἦν νώτισμα θηρός· εὶ δὲ πρὸς νέφη βάλ. οι, κυανωπὸν ὧς τις Ἰρις ἀντηύγει σέλας,

and similar also to Ou. trist. ii 147 sq.

spes mihi magna subit, cum te, mitissime princeps,

spes mihi, respicio cum mea facta, cadit.

Burmann's attempt to juggle with crimen must be imitated by those who will defend the vulgate reading of Ou. ex Pont. ii 3 75 sqq.

me tuus ille pater, Latiae facundia linguae, quae non inferior nobilitate fuit, primus, ut auderem committere carmina famae, impulit.

Here we have an expression like i 2 69 sq. 'suscipe, Romanae facundia, Maxime, linguae, | difficilis causae mite patrocinium': Latiae facundia linguae is in apposition with pater, and it therefore does not denote a quality possessed by Messalla, but means Messalla himself, 'orator Latinus facundissimus'. But then the relative clause 'quae non inferior nobilitate fuit' is

1 coccis Lachmann, cogis MSS 'sensu aut inepto ant nullo,' retained by a few editors who know the meaning neither of cogier nor of the 2nd pers. indic. Imagine Maccenas (or, if you prefer it, the gentle reader, who has just been addressed in the plural with quaeritis) insisting that Cynthia should parade in Coan stuffs. cogas would be a greater change than coccis, and the verb would remain unusuitable. It is possible however that cogis is merely a dittigraphy of Cois and has ousted cerno.

nonsense: in order to make sense of it, facundia must be divested of this meaning and must denote the quality of eloquence; for it was Messalla's eloquence, not Messalla, which equalled Messalla's birth. So the passage should be written thus:

me tuus ille pater, Latiae facundia linguae quoi non inferior nobilitate fuit, primus etc.

i.e. qui Latiae linguae facundiam habuit nobilitati suae plane parem, 'who possessed a Roman eloquence as lofty as his birth.' Compare ii 2 74 'nec uigor est Drusi nobilitate minor', 3 1 sq. 'claris nomen uirtutibus aequas | nec sinis ingenium nobilitate premi', trist. iv 4 1-6 'nominibus cum sis generosus auorum, exsuperas morum nobilitate genus.....cuius in ingenio est patriae facundia linguae, | qua prior in Lutio non fuit ulla foro'. At this Mr Ehwald exclaims on p. 285 'also soll facundia Subjekt zu non inferior sein!'. facundia is subject to fuit. On the same page he writes der Archaismus quoi sollte doch endliche einmal, ebenso wie quom, aus den Konjekturen für den Ovidtext verschwinden'. Ehwald calls quoi an archaism; Quintilian inst. i 7 27 says that quoi was the usual spelling in his boyhood (about 50 A.D.) and that cui came into fashion later: which am I to believe? Madvig's remarks on Fickert, as well as Lachmann's on Forbiger, will serve for Mr Ehwald: adu. crit. ii p. 412 certissimae emendationi Gruteri ex quod facientis quoi (Sen. de ben. iii 26 2) imperite obloquitur Fickertus, negans se quoi in Senecae codicibus repperisse, ideo, quod, quo tempore nostri codices scripti sunt, desitum erat sic scribi, tantum uestigia supersunt in mendis inde ortis, quae non pauca repperisset, si intellexisset'. The proof that quoi once existed in Ovid's text is the fact that our MSS present forms beginning with qu in places where the sense requires the dative singular, as at her. iv 26 quae, met. viii 640 quo, trist. iii 7 41 quod, and here at ex Pont, ii 3 76, where the best MS has que, others quae, others qui.

Mr Ehwald is an industrious scholar, and his record of Ovidian studies in the Jahresbericht, in spite of some grave inaccuracies, is a very useful piece of work. But he does not enhance its value by interposing his own opinions upon matters which lie beyond his

² For example, in this Review vol. xi p. 427 I proposed cum wellent uento iam dare uela rates at her. xvi 122: he says on p. 251 that I proposed cum uento nostrae iam dare uela rates, and enquires 'wie soll denn dann der Vers konstruiert werden?'

ken. Many of the conjectures which he has to report are the conjectures of thoughtful persons: Mr Ehwald is not thoughtful, and must expect to be puzzled by the proceedings of those who are. I thank him for one correction: in my text of the Ibis, u. 283 'nec tibi praesidio sit praesens numen', praesidio is a mistake for subsidio.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

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ADJECTIVAL FORMS IN PLAUTUS.

I.—FEMININE	Forms	OF	-0	AND	-0	STEM
	ADJEC	TIVI	ES.			

-9	N.T.			-
1.	Nom.	S.	m	-a.

alterā, B. 1128, Poen. prol. 85.

liberā, E. 498.

meā, Cas. 696, Curc. 602.

Similarly we get $-\tilde{a}$ in the plural of neuters of both declensions:

ceterā, As. 199.

factā, Pers. 761 (?)

omniā, Men. 900, Mil. 1314, 1338.

More doubtful are, auarā, Truc. 459, and ebriolā, Curc. 192.

On the other hand, -\alpha is found in the penultimate syllable of iambic senarii, and trochaic septenarii very frequently in adjectives and participles (in nouns we get only four such instances):

Verse endings such as

cértă rés (25), sánăn és (3) ... 28

Neuters, such as curátă sint ...

2. Genitive singular.

magnai, Mil. 103, prol.

malai, Merc. 693; Ps. according to

Rufinus.

meai, Aul. 121.

nostrai, Mil. 519.

publicai, Mil. 103, prol.

tuai, Aul. 121.

Dative singular of pronominal adjectives.

aliae, Mil. 802.

alteras, R. 750.

solae, Mil. 356, 1019.

totae, Frag. Fab. Inc. 3 (Varro).

Probably also, in pronouns, Mil. 348, S. 560, Truc. 790.

II.—MASCULINE AND NEUTER FORMS OF -0 STEM ADJECTIVES.

1. Nom. s.

Two u's are avoided, so we get, e.g., saluŏs (Most. 1128), not saluus; similarly in the

acc. s., saluom (Men. 1038), not saluum.

Instances of -ūs are few, and certainly illusory. Verse endings like

absúmptŭs és 3:

commonităs sum (-tu' sum) ... 16

5 6
maribindisane ést (B. 192) 1

moribúndĭsque ést (B. 192) ... 1

Form: morigerus (not -ger), occurs five times in nom. s. m.; cf. socerus, Men. 957, and the voc. puere; possibly, also pu < e > rus in Truc. 906.

2. Genitive singular.

(a) Of -io stems should end in -ii, not -i as in nouns with -io stems; but as it happens we find no such genitive in all of Plautus. If we may trust Neue (II.3 p. 44) the first instance is in Lucretius.

(b) Of pronominal adjectives.

ali modi, Frag. Inc. 74 (7), Paulus. coloris ulli, Truc. 293. MSS. and Priscian.

uni animi, S. 731 (so BCD; unanimi, F and libri ueteres Lambini).

alt[e]rius, Capt. 306.

nullius coloris, Ps. 1196 (ABCD).

utríusque // uerba, Truc. 794.

3. Vocative singular.

aureus, As. 691.

dulciculus, Poen. 390.

festus, Cas. 137.

meus, Cas. 137, Cist. 53, Most. 311, Pers. 765, Poen. 366, 367, S. 764; add As. 664 and Cas. 138, where meus occurs along with mi.

molliculus, Poen. 367.

pullus, Cas. 138.

mei, Men. 182 (BCD), 361 (B'CD'), 541 (A), Merc. 503 (A), 525 (A). Surely not so written by Plautus himself.

amice une, Frag. 89, Friuolaria (Priscian).

4. Locative.

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di<e> crastini, Most. 881. die septimi, Men. 1156. mane sane septimi, Men. 1157. die septumei, Pers. 260.

5. Genitive plural.

Like bonorum, 41 instances, 25 different words.

Like aureum, 30 (31?) instances, 14 different words, viz.:—

aur<e>um, Trin. 1139. celatum, Trin. 241. cognatum, Am. 841. cognoscendum, R. 1145. diuom, 4. doctum, Ps. 678.

duom, Men. 542. (duorum twice), inimicum, As. 280. meum, 8 (9?) (meorum 3).

nostrum, adj. not pron., 3 (-orum 1). Philippeum, Trin. 152. Philippum, B. 272, Trin. 955, 959, 1158.

tuom, 2 (-orum 7). uostrum, Mil. 174.

Add quoium, Trin. 534, as if from quoius, -a, -um, not from quis directly.

6. Dative-ablative plural.

alieis, dat. m., Most. 154.

Epidamnieis, abl. m., Men. 258.

meeis, abl. n., Merc. 787.

mieis, dat. m., Men. 202 (Ba C).

mies, abl. f., Truc. 709 (miles MSS.).

mis, abl. n., Trin. 822 (BC).

These are all credible forms.

7. Accusative plural masculine.

ambo, before vowels, 10.

before consonants, 1 (Ps. 1079, according to A).

at verse end, 1, (B. 1187).

before consonants, 6. at verse end, 1 (Ps. 251).

duo, o never elided, 7.

at verse end, 2 (E. 187, Ps. 1000).

duos, in interior of verse, 4 (Am. 1138

[E J F], Cas. 692, twice [bacchiac], Cist. 701).

duos, at verse end, 13.

8. Vocative plural.

mi, Cist. 678, twice; R. 1144. This is more credible than mei for mi in the voc. s.

9. Possessives with suffix -pte.

These are chiefly ablatives singular: Truc. 471, Most. 156, Ps. 803, Trin. 666, Capt. 371, Mil. 605, 391 (acc. s.), Am. 252?, Merc. 970. Similar are mepte, Men. 1059, and meāmet, Poen. 446.

10. Of the adjective quoius we find 21 instances of feminine singular forms, out of a total of 24. The MSS usually give the spelling cuia, etc.

quoia, nom. s. fem., E. 294 (quoia, B),
 Merc. 200, 529 (A), 719 (quia), 720, 721, R.
 478, S. 370 (A).

quoia uox, Curc. 111, Merc. 864, Ps. 702 (A). R. 229 (quia), 332, Trin. 45 (quia A), B. 979.

quoiam, Cist. 632 (quo iam BEV), Ps. 1042 quoiam uocem, Curc. 229 (quo iam, EJ.) quoia, abl., B. 948, R. 90 (quia D), Truc. prol. 9 (quia D.)

de quoio, Poen. 535 (quio B). quoiae, nom. pl., R. 745. quoium, gen. pl., Trin. 534 (B).

III.—THIRD DECLENSION.

1. Nominative singular.

(a) quáli' sit, at verse end, B. 786, 856.
(b) infimátis, nom. s.m., S. 493, all MSS. and Priscian.
quoiátis, nom. s.m., Curc. 407, Men. 341,

Poen. 109 prol., 993.

Sarsinátis, nom. s. f., Most. 770. Total

Two doubtful places in the Truculentus have been thought to show the shorter form in -4s:

campas, (=*campatis?) True. 942 (cf. campas, Trin. 545, BCD, -anis A) and damnas (=* damnatis?) True. 893, MSS. -is.

(c) Quantity.

(c) quantity.

auctior, Capt. 782, bacchiac.

habitior, E. 10, change of speaker.

lenior, R. 203, cretic.

longior, Am. 548.

minor ?, Merc. 112.

stultior, B. 123.

uorsutior, E. 371.

We do not find such a versa and

We do not find such a verse-ending as habítiŏr és.

ampliūs? Cist. 777, change of speaker. ampliūs, Men. 846, ", ", ampliūs, Trin. 247, cretic. ampliūs, Trin. 249, ",

So in adverbs, Men. 327, R. 1232, Curc. 312, Most. 326 (?); but on the other hand satius ést Poen. 1337, Ps. 449.

2. Nominative plural in -is.

There are at least 98 instances of this in nouns and adjectives. The adjectives are amantis, Truc. 182 (ABCD). beneuolentis, Cas. 435 (B).

Carthaginiensis, Poen. 1377 (B'C'D'). confidentis, Curc. 477 (B). dotalis, Mil. 1278 (BCD) familiaris, Mil. 183 (BCD). gerentis, Truc. 145 (CD). grandis, B. 992 (D'). immortalis, 5 instances liberalis, Cas. prol. 74 (B'). manip(u)laris, Mil. 815 (B), Truc. 491 (BCD). mortalis, Trin. 212 (BCD). muliebris, Mil. 1359 (BCD). omnis, 23 instances. quoiatis, Poen. 994 (A) rapacis, Men. 1015 (BCD). scientis, Mil. 893 (BCD). 44 instances, 17 words.

Dative-ablative plural.

omnibūs, Merc. 920, Most. 337 (cretic; syllaba anceps 1), R. 975 (change of speaker). Extremely doubtful.

IV .- NUMERALS.

oenus, Truc. 103 (B); cf. noenum, Aul. 67, B. 34.

duo, duos, see above. tris, acc. pl. 13 instances. treis, " 1 (Men. 219, A). 3 (As. 131, B. 832, R. 315, a) tres, quatuór, Most. 630. So all but A and C-

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Servius has centum; however B and D are very prone to give quatuor even where the scansion is clearly 4 - 4, -so in Am. 303, 306, Men. 1052, Merc. 673, Mil. 629 (B has 11111°r), Ps. 1303, S. 553 (D).

quincto, Merc. 66, Trin. 524; quintus and cases in at least 7 places.

uicensimus, Capt. 980, BE; similarly Plautus regularly uses iens in adverbs, deciens, etc., not decies. Cf. centessimam, Capt. 421 (J), but esi- Mil. 763.

dŭcentos, B. 272 (but _ _ B. 230). quădringentis, B. 934, (B; quadragentis CDF).

quădringentos, B. 974, R. 1324. quădrigentis, B. 1183 (so C only).

As a large round number we find centum, etc., (3), ducentos (2), trecenti (4), quingentos (2), sescenti, etc., (7), octingentos, centiens (5), miliens. The duodecimal system does not predominate.

V.—Interchange of Declensions.

-O and -a stems usual, third Declension Forms rarer in ordinary Latin. decore, Capt. 321, by emendation.

decorus and cases, 6 times. 5 fraudulentus, gnarus, As. 551, R. 210.

mansuetam, As. 504. perpetuŏs and cases, 16 instances.

advb. perpetuo, 7, and perpetuen 1 (E. 17).

săcer, 16 and 3 superlatives. At verse end, Am. 1013, Aul. 606, Curc. 471, Ps. 109; in interior of verse, 15.

pérpětím, Truc. 278. sacres, R. 1208. sacrés, Men. 290.

fraudulenti, abl., Ps. 582 (CD).

mansuetem, As. 145 (E, F, Nonius).

gnárŭrés, Poen. prol. 47. gnarurīs, Most. 100, bacchiac.

pérpětém, Am. 280, 732.

Third declension forms usual; first and second rarer ordinarily. alearis, not in Plautus.

dapsilis, etc., Most. 982, Ps. 1266.

hilari, abl. Most. 318.

inermis, no instance. militaris, 6.

haec pauper, Aul. 174; 14 instances clearly of 3rd decl., 10 indeterminate. in procliui, As. 710, Capt. 336. procline, nom. s.n., As. 663.

aleáriaé, dat., Mil. 164.

dapsilas, Aul. 167, Nonius. dapsilis dictis? Ps. 396.

hilarus, etc., Am. 961, As. 837, 850, E. 413, Mil. 1199, Most. 566, Pers. 760, R. 419, S. 739. Advb. hilare, Merc. 99, Poen. 1367.

inermus, B. 966. militáriís, abl., Ps. 1049.

paupera, nom. s.f., Vid. frag. 1, and also Frag. Fab. Inc. 53.

ex procliuo, Mil. 1018; R. 1132 indeter-

ridicularia, As. 330, Trin. 66, Truc. 684 may come from ridicularis or from ridicularius, both of which occur elsewhere. Ridiculus and its compounds occurs 22 times; advb. ridicule, Trin. 905.

singularis, not Plautine.

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singuláriás, Capt. 112.

únanimí sumús, S. 731 (729); so F and libri Lambini, but uni animi, genit., BCD.

OTHER PARALLEL FORMATIONS.

manufestus, 5 times, all medio versu; manufesturius, 4 times, all at verse end; manufesto, advb. 14.

necessus, Cist. 626, Mil. 1118 (CD'). necessum, As. 894, Cas. 344, R. 1331, S. 219 (-us, A).

necessarium, R. 252, cretic.

potis, 35; pote, 7; potine or potin, 29.
primus of course common; primarius
twice at verse end, twice medio versu.

subitus, 4, all in interior of verse; subitaria, Mil. 225; adverb subito.

It appears that most of the forms that are especially fitted for verse end, or for bacchiac and cretic verse, occur only in such places. Besides the above there are many parallel formations of less importance, such as Babylonius, Babylonicus, Babyloniensis; barbarus, barbarius, barbarius, barbarius, exanimatus, exanimatis; pautus, pauxillus, pauxillulus, etc.

VI.—NUMBER.

singulum uestigium, Cist. 701. Plural forms of unus occur in Ps. 54, B. 832, Trin. 166, Cist. 735.

Plural forms of uter, twice; of uterque, three times.

VII.—COMPARISON.

(a) Comparatives formed with the help of magis or mage are very numerous; in some instances the adverb might be regarded as modifying some other word than the adjective, but most of the cases are clear.

(i) aequiperabile, acc., Curc. 168.
ecfertum, acc. m., Capt. 466.
excruciabilem, Cist. 653.
expectatum, acc. m., Am. 679-680.
idoneos, Poen. 583.
immortalis, acc., Poen. 276.
laetantem, Ps. 324.
maleficum, acc. m., Ps. 939, a.
malum, acc. m., Ps. 939, a (cf. Ps. 1017).
manufestum, acc. m., Men. 594.
utibile, acc., Trin. 748.

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(ii) aequom, nom., Merc. 8981 amicus, Mil. 660. argutum, nom., Trin. 200. auxiliarius, Truc. 216. cita, nom. f., B. 738. conducibile, nom., Cist. 78. consiliarius, Truc. 216. decorum, nom., As. 689. dulce, nom., Pers. 764. [dura, nom. f., Am. 166, by emendation.] exercita, nom. f., Cist. 379. fidelis, nom., As. 573. mirum, nom., Am. 596, 829. miser, Am. 167. nimbata, nom., Poen. 348. obnoxios<a>e, nom., Trin. 1038. occupatus, Most. 1009. par, nom. n., Am. 990, B. 619, Curc. 110, Pers. 800, Poen. 522, S. 512. potis, S. 773. propitii, Aul. 810. pulcer, Mil. 1086. religiosa, nom. f., As. 782. supiens, As. 704. simile, nom., Am. 601. solae, nom., R. 227. solutum, nom., Ps. 641. stulta, nom. f., Poen. 1194. tranquillus, B. 1174. unicus, Capt. 150, Cas. 264. uerum, nom., Merc. 971.

(iii) continens, Most. 31. decore, nom., Capt. 321, by emendation. Graecum, nom., Men. 9 prol. impetrabilis, nom., Most. 1162. inimicus, Men. 675. mirum. nom., Am. 595. oportunus. Most. 574. utibile, nom., Mil. 613. uorsutus, As. 119.

(iv) amico, abl., As. 66. beneuolo, abl., As. 66. inimicis, abl., Mil. 314. iratis, abl., Mil. 314. libera, abl., Cist. 128, miris, abl., Mil. 539.

Similar is plus lub-ns in the doubtful verse Aul. 420. Adverbs compared by magis, six instances: Poen. 752, Mil. 539, Most. 157, Cas. 182, Most. 197, Ps. 1017.

Add magis amator, Men. 268 (A); magis asinos, Ps. 136; magis curionem, Aul. 563; magis eundem, Mil. 530; magis meus, Mil. 615; also the expression haud uidi magis,

(4 instances) and magis in rejoinders, the adjective not expressed (four times, and once, Merc. 445, with an adverb understood).

(b) Both forms of comparatives.

E. 425, Merc. 897.
Frag. Fab. Inc. 7(21).
As. 614, S. 704 (699), Truc. 371.
Ps. 154.
Capt. 346, 716, Mil. 1354.
Merc. 605.
B. 500.
20 instances.
14 instances.
5 instances.
E. 525, R. 359.
5 instances.
7 instances.
Poen. 1236.
R. 752.
E. 371.

Add lubentiores, As. 268, in contrast with Aul. 420. The double formation occurs also in the three adverbs benigne, lubenter, saepe.

(c) Double comparatives.

apertiore magis, S. 485. magis certius, Capt. 643. contentiores mage, Poen. 461.

magis dulcius, S. 704 (699). inimiciorem magis, B. 500.

magis m<ai>orem, Am. 301.

magis maiores, Men. 55 prol., Poen. 82 prol. mollior magis, Aul. 422.

magis plus, Poen. 212. magis unctiusculo, Ps. 220.

So with adverbs, Men. 978, Merc. 898 (?).

(d) Diminutives of comparatives.

complusculos, R. 131. liquidiusculus, Mil. 665. maiusculam, Poen. 155. meliusculam, Capt. 959. meliusculum, Curc. 489. meliusculam, Capt. 968. minusculam, Poen. 498. minusculum, Trin. 888. nitidiusculum, Ps. 220. tardiuscula, Cist. 380 (No.

tardiuscula, Cist. 380 (Nonius). magis unctiusculo, Ps. 221.

Similarly, in adverbs, nitidiuscule, Ps. 774.

plusculum, Am. 283, Pers. 21. saepiuscule, Cas. 703.

(e) Superlatives with maxume.

adulescentem máxůmé, Mil. 788.

maxume aequom, Ps. 269.

magi(s).

amicus As. 66, Mil. 660.

citus B. 738. dulcis Pers. 764.

durus Am. 166, by emendation. fidelis As. 573. impetrabilis Most. 1162.

inimicus Men. 675, Mil. 314. malus Ps. 939, a, (cf. 1017).

 miser
 Am. 167.

 pulcer
 Mil. 1086.

 sapiens
 As. 704.

 similis
 Am. 601.

 stultus
 Poen. 1194.

 tranquillus
 B. 1174.

uerus Merc. 971.
uorsutus As. 119.

maxume alienum, Capt. 99. amantem máximé, As. 857.

maxume clarum, Trin. 664.
maxume concinnum, Mil. 1024.
cupiens máxumé, Am. 132 prol.

leibera maxume ? R. 217. merito máxŭmé, dat. m., Capt. 936.

maxume moro, Men. 571. par máxŭmé, Am. 832.

uera máxumé, Ps. 433.

In Men. 572 molesto multum is joined by que to maxume moro (abl.) and to maxume habent; there are at least 13 other instances of superlatives made with multum and a positive.

(f) Both forms of superlatives.

-issumus. maxume.
Nine instances. aequŏs Ps. 269.
As. 737, E. 430. meritus Capt. 936.
Carc. 506. par Am. 832.
Merc. 206. uerus Ps. 433.

Similarly:

(i)ssumus, etc. multum.
As. 521, Aul. 745, Ps. audax, Men. 731.
288.
Over 40 instances. malus Men. 731.

11 instances. miser S. 206. Am. 907, B. 1098, stultus Mil. 370, 443. Merc. 211.

(g) Miscellaneous comparatives and superlatives.

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factius, Trin. 397. minus multi, Mil. 733; paucioris, Aul. 486; pauciorum, Trin. 34.

Poenior, Poen. 991.

cumulatissumě, Aul. 825, vs end.

exclusissumús, Men. 698.

geminissumús, Pers. 830.

ipsíssumús, Trin. 988.

meritissumo eius, As. 737; cf. E. 430, Capt.

occisissumús, Cas. 694, bacchiac. occlusissumúm, Curc. 16.

oculissumúm, Curc. 15.

oculissumě, Curc. 121, a.

patruissumě, Poen. 1195? 1197, vs end. penitissumó, Cist. 63.

penitissumá, Pers. 522, 541, vs end. penitissumae, Frag. Dub. 16 (Nonius). perditissumus, Aul. 723.

periturissume? R. 1375, (BCD).

saepissumá, adj. not advb., Pers. 633 (A);

so penitis, adj. As. 40.

Similarly in adverbs, impunissumé, Poen. 411, paenissumé, Aul. 466, 668, Most. 656.

VIII.—SYNCOPATED AND UNSYNCOPATED FORMS.

alt e rást, Pers. 226.

alt[e]rius, Capt. 306. alt[e]ri, Truc. 48 (so Bücheler).

ar[i]dus, Aul. 297. ar i dos, Pers. 266.

auidi in a pun with audi, imperative, B. 276. Word play involving adjectives also in Cas. 527, Mil. 1424, Poen. 279, R. 811, Trin. 27.

contechnatus or contech<i>natus? Ps. 1096. dextera etc.: 10 times in interior of verse, Five 7 times at verse end, twice in cretics. of these have the shorter form in the MSS. against the requirements of the metre; in 3 the MSS. vary.

dextra etc.: Am. 333 (-ter- MSS.), Merc. 965, Frag. 108 Parasitus Piger (Varro); dextrouorsum, advb., Curc. 70, R. 176, 368. dinam, E. 316 (B'); E. 4191; di[ui]nis

diues and its cases, 30 instances: 26 show the full form (diuitis at verse end, 7) and four are syncopated, viz. di[ue]s As. 330, dites, nom. pl., Curc, 475, ditis, acc. pl., Curc. 472, 485,

díuitiór, anapaestic verse, Ps. 1323. dí[ui]tior, troch. septen., Aul. 809. Com-

pare diuitiae, noun, 23 instances; ditiaé, at verse end, 4; and diuitiae, either with or without syncopation, 13 instances.

obli[ui]scendi, four syllables, Mil. 1359. perpur<i>gatis, Mil. 774.

prachensus, - 4-, As. 563; praensus, , As. 569.

quadrup<u>lari, Pers. 62; quadrupul<i> Truc. 762; cf. quadrup<u>lator, Pers. 70. sinisteram, Merc. 879 (-tr- B); sinistra, Ps. 762. Plautus perfers laeuos (17 times).

sur[ru]pta, R. 1105. Other similar instances become unnecessary by scanning nemp', etc.

un[i]cus, Capt. 150 (?), 321, Cas. 264, Poen. 65 prol. ?

áncipés, R. 1158, interior of verse; MSS. metre, Charis., Prisc.

praécipés, Cas. 931, end of hemistich (MSS. preceps).

praécipés, R. 671, verse end, cretic.

praecipes, Frag. 59, Commorientes (Priscian), possibly at verse end.

Campans, Trin. 545; so Nonius, F, Lambinus; campas BCD (cf. Truc. 942), campanes A, against metre.

U VOWEL OR CONSONANT?

årŭŏs, Truc. 149.

lárŭátus, Am. frag. 6, frag. 12, Men. 890, Frag. Fab. Inc. 55(75) Servius.

mílŭínam, Men. 212, Ps. 852.

perduellis, etc. Am. 250, 642 (?), Cist. 201, Mil. 222, Ps. 583, 589. duéllica, E. 450.

rělicuos, etc., four syllables; 17 instances of this word,-all but one require four-syllable scansion, and that one (Merc. 666) permits it. We get rélicuos at verse end,

in Trin. 14 prol., 510, True. 15 prol.

comptionalém, B. 976 (so B1; coempt- B2); cf. coepulonus, Pers. 100.

quieto, _ _ , E. 338 ; quietus as 3 syllables, some 7 times. Cf. Merc. 448, Pers. 78.

IX.—QUANTITY.

Acherunticus. with long a, B. 198, Merc. 290, Mil. 627; so in the noun Acheruns. Chiúm, Curc. 78, Poen. 699; similarly

Péllœó, As. 333, but — 4 —, As. 397.

defrūtum, Ps. 741.

dierectus, -e, -a, -um, 13 instances; di-G G 2

wi'l fit everywhere except Trin. 457, and -ewill fit everywhere. It is noticeable that in Trin. 457, where we have the most trouble we get derecte in all the better MSS. except

diuēs !, As. 330.

Dīum, As. 23 (deum MSS.).

Hilurios, Men. 235; Hilurica, Trin. 852.

impõs ?, Cas. 629.

metūculosus, Am. 293; -sa, Most. 1101.

Philippi or Philippei 21 instances. prior ?, Cas. 839; cf. B. 932, Cas. 571,

adverbs. proprīum ?, Capt 862; cf. Merc. 338, Trin.

1130.

rēducem, Capt. 923, R. 409, both in bacchiac verse; reducem, five times.

rábidó, Cas. 310, rábidám, S. 228. sospēs ?, Cas. 817.

X .- MISCELLANEOUS.

ei for i appears frequently in the more carefully transcribed plays, both in root syllables and in terminations; in such instances as aliei, nom., Merc. 318, alieis, Most. 154, it undoubtedly represents Plautus' own spelling; in other instances we may be in doubt, or even feel sure that it was not Plautine, e.g., ameicus, Poen. 1213.

There is great wavering in the MSS. between u and i before labials in certain large classes of words, such as maxuma, Trin. 413 (B), decumam, S. 233, marituma, B. 342, lubens, S. 373 (A); there can be little doubt that Plautus himself wrote u.

ii sometimes appear for i, e.g., maiiores, Trin. 642 (A), peiiurium, Ps. 975 (A), peiiurius, Trin. 201 (A); quoiia, E. 294 (B).

Gerunds and gerundives, not including the words eundus, oriundus, secundus, show -undus 82 times, -endus 71 times.

formo///sam, Merc. 229 (D).

laboriossi, Merc. 507 (A). negotiossam, S. 356 (A).

obnoxiosse, E. 695 (B).

odiossae, Trin. 37 (A). odios < s>sici, Capt. 87 prol., to make a better play on the word molossici in 86.

otiosse, Trin. 1077 (B), advb.

radiossus, S. 365 (A).

<s>quamossas, Men. 919 (B). Cf. centessimam, Capt. 421 (J).

aémolós, Ps. 196 (A).

aequos and cases appears in a variety of forms: aequom, acc. m., Cas. 966; aequm, nom. neut., Mil. 730 (A); aecum, Merc. 1026 (B; equum, CD); equm, B. 1017 (B); ecum, Trin. 392 (B). Similarly, eloqutus, Merc. 155 (eloquius B), eloquutus, Am. 420 (E), As. 350 (BDE), quomplures, S. 198 (qui amplures B).

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auscul[t]antem = osculantem, B. 478 (A);

cf. Cas. 133.

beniuol-, Capt. 350, Cist. 23; so malific-, Mil. 194, Ps. 195, a; maliuol-, S. 208, 385cf. Merc. 28.

caeleps, S. 543 (ABC).

comfragosas, Men. 591 (A); so comuiuas, Men. 224; so in inscriptions.

corcotárií, to avoid crocotárií of the MSS., Aul. 521; cf. Aul. 508 and tarpezita, etc.

duplec ?, B. 641. gnatus, gnata, frequent both as ppls. and as nouns.

incolomis; Truc. 168 (BC).

metucolosa, Most. 1101 (C; Priscian H). nuperum, Capt. 718.

pauxillus and cases, 8 instances; 5 show x only, while in B. 833, Most. 865, and S. 175 the MSS, waver between x and s. Similarly in the adverbs, pauxillatim, E. 248 (x), R. 929 (x), and pausillisper, True. 913 (-s- BCD ; -x, L, Nonius).

pauxillulus and cases, 6 instances at verse end, 2 in interior of verse; in 5 of these x alone is attested, but in R. 729, S. 163, Truc. 940, the MSS. give x or s.

praegnás, nom. s., so accented, Truc. 199, 389; oblique cases, -atem, etc., 6 instances. The MSS. vary, but their testimony is strong for -atem, not antem; in Aul. 163 only we fail to find MS. authority for -atem. praesente nobis, Nonius 76, 14; cf. Am. 400.

purporissatas, Truc. 290 (BCD against A; no other trace of -o- in words on same stem). puplicus, etc., Pers. 65, 68, R. 572, S. 614, Trin. 286; corrupted into pullicus, six instances.

tam magno, Cas. 430.

uociuŏs, etc., Cas. 29 prol., 596, Ps. 469, Trin. 11 prol.; uo- is implied in the joke in Cas. 527; uaciuom, B. 154 (B).

ARTHUR W. HODGMAN.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS. May 17, 1902.

THEORIES CONCERNING EPICUREAN THEOLOGY AND METAPHYSICS.

In a long chapter, entitled 'The Epicurean Gods and the doctrine of Isonomia,' Giussani discusses the doctrine of 'Isonomia,' that is to say of the 'Balance of Forces in the universe' as bearing upon Epicurus's theology. A singular theory has been propounded on this subject by Scott which Giussani adopts and develops farther. Both scholars find a very essential connection between the two doctrines.

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After the passage on the Epicurean Godhead quoted in the former paper Cicero adds a further argument, which he states very briefly, for the Divine existence.

Summa vero vis infinitatis et magna ac diligenti contemplatione dignissima est, in qua intellegi necesse est eam esse naturam ut omnia omnibus paribus paria respondeant. Hanc $l\sigma\sigma\sigma\rho\mu'$ av appellat Epicurus, id est acquabilem tributionem. Ex hac igitur illud efficitur, si mortalium tanta multitudo sit, esse immortalium non minorem. et si quae interimant innumerabilia sint, etiam ea quae conservent infinita esse debere (De Nat. D. i. 50).

'Surely the mighty power of the infinite universe is most worthy of our great and earnest contemplation; we must understand that the constitution of the infinite whole is such that all its parts are exactly balanced one against the other.² This is called by Epicurus Isonomia, that is to say 'an equal distribution' of things. From this principle it results ³ that if there is so great a number of mortals, there must be no smaller number of immortals, and if the forces which destroy are innumerable, those which preserve things in being must also be innumerable.

This passage is criticised by the Academic disputant, Cotta, at § 109: Cotta refuses to grant to Velleius that, if the constant stream of Divine images is due to the infinity of matter, he is justified in inferring from the same cause the eternity of the Gods.

¹ According to Zeller the words from et si quae interimant to the end 'belong to Cicero only' Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 442, note (Eng. Tr.) Brieger has, I believe, somewhere expressed an opinion that the doctrine stated in this passage (§ 50), does not come from Epicurus himself but was added to his system by some later Epicurean.

We follow Mayor's rendering.
Whose inference is this? Epicurus's or Cicero's?

Quomodo enim probas continenter imagines ferri? aut, si continenter, quomodo aeternae? 'Innumerabilitas,' inquit, 'suppeditat atomorum.' Num eadem ergo ista faciet ut sint omnia sempiterna? Confugis ad aequilibritatem (sic enim ἰσονομίαν, si placet, appellemus) et dicis, quoniam sit natura mortalis, immortalem etiam esse oportere. Isto modo, quoniam homines mortales sunt, sint aliqui immortales, et quoniam nascuntur in terra, nascantur in aqua. 'Et quia sunt quae interimant, sunt quae conservent?' Sint sane, sed ea conservent quae sunt: deos istos esse non sentio.

We find the doctrine stated by Cicero expressed in more limited application but in much more explicit terms in Lucretius, though not under the name of Isonomia. No other writer refers to the subject.

The doctrine has a broad and simple meaning which has been thus stated by Munro: 'In the universe of things death and destruction are evenly balanced by life and production.' This statement covers all the definite references to this tenet in Lucretius.

Cicero, however, gives us a wider application of the doctrine not merely as a Balance of opposing Forces but as a pairing of opposite things, one of which implies the other. Thus mortality implies immortality: if so many mortals exist, there must be an equal number of immortals; if life is produced on land, living things must be produced on water too (§ 109) and so on.

Scott explains the doctrine thus:

'The words omnia omnibus paribus paria respondent means that "in infinity all things have their match." By this Velleius seems to mean a law of averages or chances; the law, namely, that of two alternatives equally possible, each will occur with equal frequency if an infinite number of cases be taken. The balance of opposing forces may be preserved, he explains, in two different ways. 'The processes of growth and of decay, of combination and of dissolution, may either prevail alternately in each individual object so that the result on the whole will be a perpetual decay of existing things, accompanied by a perpetual growth of fresh things in their place; or the two processes may go on simultaneously in a given object so as to

⁴ ii. 569-580.

produce an equilibrium, the result of which will be eternal duration'.... If we consider the whole universe, the alternate and the simultaneous action of the two processes must go on to an equal extent. In our world (and, by analogy, in all the worlds) the first alternative universally prevails; that is the motions of growth and decay operate alternately, both on the world as a whole and on each individual within it. Hence, outside the worlds or in the intermundia, room must be found for the other alternative; that is the 'motus auctifici' and the 'motus exitiales' must there work simultaneously and instead of producing successions of different beings, must result in the immortality of such beings as exist.' Referring to Cotta's criticism in § 109, he adds, 'Here we see that the exact point proved by the principle of ἰσονομία is the perpetual continuance in the case of the gods and in their case alone of the 'auctifici motus' and that it is on this perpetual continuance that their immortality depends.'

'The Epicurean asked by Cotta how it is that the stream of matter in the form of images which goes to form the gods, never fails, replies at first, "Because there is an infinite supply of matter to draw upon"; but to the objection that this argument would tell equally for the immortality of all things, he answers in effect that the principle of iσονομία determines the supply of the infinite matter in such a way as to produce death and birth in some beings and im-

mortality in others.'1

The italics are Mr. Scott's. From this exposition of § 109, the student should turn to Mayor's excellent commentary in order to see how very vague is the passage so positively expounded by Scott and how variously scholars have interpreted it].

Giussani sets forth Scott's conclusion still more emphatically-' Isonomia was devised to prove precisely the perpetuity of the 'auctifici motus' in the case of the gods and

in their case only.' 2

We have seen that, according to Scott who is followed by Giussani, the 'Form' of the Gods abides, while their matter is absolutely fleeting, never the same. Is not the Platonic term applied in a rather superficial way to such 'Beings' (1) as these 'riverlike ' or, as Giussani calls them ' water-falllike' Gods? Plato would have used the term 'Form' of the river, but never of the water rushing through a single point on the course of that river. Giussani even thinks

it not impossible that 'the Platonic Realism' may have influenced Epicurus in this part of his theology!3 To students of philosophy a surprising opinion indeed! Two thinkers more hostile, less allied even on any single point than Plato and Epicurus could not be found.

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So far Giussani has followed closely in the steps of Scott, but he goes on to develop his theory further. That theory, he says, is 'substantially true,' but 'it is not the

whole truth.'

Giussani assumes that the immortality of the Gods is exposed to special danger from the over-assimilation of nourishment because they live in the intermundia 'amidst an enormous superabundance of food' from the atomic ocean surrounding According to or as an inference from Lucr. II. 1115-1140, if the Gods assimilate 'more matter than is sufficient for simple preservation,' such excessive growth must be followed by a period when the organism cannot assimilate enough to repair what is being lost .- This difficulty, by the way, is assumed by Giussani himself: but he solves the whole problem of the Divine immortality in a subtle enough way.]. What is the cause, he asks, of the death of men and animals? It is because the matter of which they are formed is temporarily 'persistent.' The matter forming my body, which is, for a time at least, 'my matter,' may be so suddenly injured or dispersed by an accident, or it may waste so much faster than slow assimilation of food can restore it that death must follow. (Even in the intermundia the Gods are exposed to accident from the ruins of surrounding worlds breaking up). The persistence of matter which preserves the stone in being becomes, in an organism, the cause of danger and death. To make it possible for everlasting Beings, composed of atoms, to exist, it is not enough, Giussani maintains, that the two processes of waste and assimilation should go on simultaneously and the gain be equal to the loss. For the immortality of such Beings 'an absolute non-persistence of matter' is necessary. Such a condition his 'cascade-like' Gods supply.4 They can no more be injured by accident than the vortex-atoms, which would twist round the knife, can be cut].

It is enough to answer Giussani that the notion of Personality implies an organism and that 'organism' implies the assimilation of food, and that, before assimilation can take place, the matter of the organism must

² Vol. i. p. 263.

¹ J. of Philol. for 1883, pp. 222-4.

ib. p. 257 (note). 4 Studi L. pp. 255-6.

be more or less permanent. But it is difficult to take his theory seriously. exchange of waste or gain in the bodies of the Gods must he says, be not only constant and equal but also 'instantaneous,' that is to say in the Divine Beings digestion and assimilation must be 'instantaneous' processes!

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Both scholars build their astonishing theories on the foundation of Cicero's line or two at § 49, repeated, with slight variation, at § 109, of the De Natura Deorum. Further, a corrupt passage of Diogenes and a number of clauses and shreds of sentences from Philodemus are twisted in highly uncritical fashion to support their view. Cicero's words Ex hac illud efficitur do not mean 'Hence Epicurus infers,' but merely 'It follows as a consequence of this.' Did Cicero find the inference drawn in his Epicurean author or did he draw it for himself? The former looks probable; but we cannot be sure. Cicero has given us an admirable account of Epicurean ethics, but his whole exposition of the details of Epicurus's theology is too vague and hasty, not to say contemptuous, the data he gives are far too slight and too unsteady to justify the dogmatic tone which the Italian scholar adopts. Until we know much more about it, any interpretation of the doctrine of Isonomia, except in its broad meaning of a 'Balance of Forces,' can only claim the value of an inference of the most tentative kind.

The consequences implied in the infinity of matter according to Epicureanism are well understood and have been fully set forth by various writers. To sustain the plagae, the constant succession of atomic collisions and resulting constant upstreaming of fresh atoms to feed the world and maintain the balance between preserving and destroying forces, matter must be infinite.1 As of the world, so also the continued existence of the Gods depends on the infinity of matter. There is nothing new in this. But why should Giussani re-label all these doctrines with the title 'Isonomia'?

It is only natural that the question should be put. If the bodies of the Gods are atomic, how then are they to escape destruction?

If all be atoms, how then should the Gods, Being atomic, not be dissoluble, Not follow the great law?

Schoemann with characteristic acuteness offers an answer which is far more in ac-

cordance with Epicurean science than the 1 See The Atomic Theory of Lucretius, (Bell and Sons, 1884), pp. 29-31.

theories which we have been discussing. In the treatise of Philodemus 'On Piety the words 'We must consider the Gods to be neither atoms nor yet compounds of atoms.'2 Munro suggests that these words mean that the Gods are not compound bodies but quasi-compound bodies: 'their atoms stand in eternal juxta-position and have come together so that they cannot be separated.'3 The whole question turns on this-How are the atoms of the Divine bodies held together? Schoemann says 'It is not improbable that, while Epicurus asserted that all other things are formed of atoms of various different shapes, he held that the bodies of the Gods were formed of like atoms only, the union of which would be more firm and less liable to dissolution.' 4 Any one at all acquainted with Epicurean physics will see at a glance how much is implied in this suggestion. The atoms of the Divine bodies are solely of the finest and most ethereal kind. A compound of purely homogeneous atoms would hold together as if by mutual attraction in an almost organic way and cohere far more closely than ordinary matter formed of unlike atoms grossly tangled. Such bodies would be different enough from ordinary matter to be called 'no compounds.'

Epicureanism has indeed its pitfalls for the historian of philosophy as Guyau's remarkable interpretation of the doctrine of Atomic Declination shows. Guyau's theory of 'Spontaneity in Things,' which he expounds as the meaning of that doctrine and as the actual teaching of Epicurus has a certain philosophical value. It will from time to time be returned to and discussed afresh. The theory of the Epicurean Gods which we have been examining carries no such interest. Epicurus's theology is, indeed, the centre of his teaching: his science exists but for the sake of it and yet this theology so little meets the demands which the human heart and conscience make of 'the Divine,' it so little satisfies the requirements of philosophy that it has been matter for merriment or contempt to his critics from Cicero and Seneca to the Fathers and from the Fathers to the present day. Giussani's theory is not only without evidence, but it conflicts with Epicurus's most cherished doctrines. Epicurus would have shuddered to see the foundation-stone

² Μήτε γαρ ατόμους νομίζειν τοὺς θεοὺς μήτε συγκρίσεις... ἄπασαν γὰρ τὴν σύγκρισιν φθαρτήν. Tab. 121-2. 3 On v. 152.

⁴ De Epicuri Theologia (Opuscula IV. p. 350).

of his theology thus moved from its place.1 The theory of the Italian scholar neither grows organically out of Epicurean doctrine nor does it bring Epicurus's theology any more than before into touch with the actual facts of the world or of human nature. These Deities-in-flux are merely the figment of a scholar's brain. It is only as a fanciful distortion of Epicurus's actual teaching that this theory falls to be mentioned in the history of that strange and indeed sad 'Comedy' of the Epicurean Gods.

Giussani's commentary and prolegomena contain much valuable matter that is fresh and suggestive.2 His wide range of knowledge and illustration lends the book an interest which ordinary editions have not. It is however disappointing that, in his introductory volume of dissertations, though it contains much that either throws new light or is at least highly ingenious, he is often misled by a desire for novel opinions which leads him to build theories upon very slight foundation. For an instance of this, I may refer to the chapter 'Atomia.' Formerly I called attention 3 to Lucretius's wellmarked use of the word concilium, pointing out that it implies 'something more than a mere mechanical combination of the atoms, and that it 'foreshadows, though faintly' the doctrines of 'chemical combination and the molecular composition of matter.' sani, however, far outstrips this very cautious suggestion. Without referring to any previous writer, he goes so far as to say that Epicurus and Lucretius both held the existence of 'molecules' of different kinds, that is to say of small bodies which have the same nature as the substances which they form, iron, stone, wine, oil, or so on. 'Lucretius's cacumina,' he says, 'when regarded as extension, are the smallest points within the field of the visible: when regarded as substance they are the molecules of a body or the partes minimae which have the character of that body or substance: any further division resolves them into atoms' (p. 58). Epicurus's ογκοι (when the term is used of any res) are its 'molecules' (p. 58). At ii, 454 Lucretius uses glomeramina to denote 'the molecules of liquids' (p. 81). Giussani would even translate exordia rerum cunctarum at iv. 112, and primordia at 118 by 'molecules' (p. 83). At ii. 686, he would like to translate:

Dissimiles igitur formae glomeramen in unum Conveniunt

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'unite to form a molecule of that substance' (! see the context) but thinks it might be rash (p. 82). His assumption is entirely unjustified. Neither Epicurus nor Lucretius ever speaks of 'molecules.' The notion of molecules as groups of atoms, small bodies intermediate between atoms and various compound substances is utterly foreign to both. Both of them conceive the various bodies to be formed directly out of atoms. To support his view Giussani relies on a corrupt passage of Epicurus (ad Herod. § 69) which may refer to bodies as composed of larger or smaller pieces of matter, but where the argument excludes any reference to the notion of 'molecules.' Ginssani assumes fantastically enough that Epicurus holds the cacumina or smallest visible parts of compound bodies to be molecules (pp. 58-9), forgetting that the power of the human eye varies, a fact which Epicurus was not likely to overlook.

I shall refer to one other chapter in which Giussani discusses at great length a very interesting but excessively difficult doctrine of Epicureanism. It is the section (pp. 124-169) entitled 'Clinamen and Voluntas. Giussani's view coincides with that set forth by Guyau in his remarkable chapter on Atomic Declination.4 Guyau holds that the power of the atoms to decline from their path does not disappear after they have combined in matter but still remains and gives to bodies, to masses of matter, the power of spontaneous movement 'in a quite imperceptible degree.' This blind latent force of spontaneity-in-things, working imperceptibly around us, issues in those events which we ascribe to 'Chance' or 'Accident.' 'Chance,' says M. Guyau, 'is only the form under which this spontaneity reveals itself to us.'

Guyau's view is based upon various texts and, in particular, upon a passage of Lucretius (ii. 243-250).

quare etiam atque etiam paulum inclinare necessest

corpora; nec plus quam minimum-ne fingere motus

obliquos videamur et id res vera refutet.

⁴ La Morale d'Épicure (pp. 71-102). This remarkable work was produced by a youth of twenty. It was the first half of a treatise crowned by the French Academy in 1874. It appeared in 1878. It is not surprising that the career of 'the French Spinoza,' as his admirers call him, ended at thirtyfour.

See Classical Review, June, p. 280.
 The chief qualities of the commentary are described in an admirable notice by Mr. J. D. Duff

⁽Class. Review, April 1899).

³ Atomic Theory of Lucretius, 1884, pp. 43-6.

namque hoc in promptu manifestumque esse videmus,

pondera, quantum in sest, non posse obliqua meare,

ex supero cum praecipitant, quod cernere possis;

sed nil omnino recta regione viai

declinare quis est qui possit cernere sese.1

This passage, he says, proves that Lucretius believed in 'the declination of heavy bodies,' as well as in 'the declination of minds,' and, of course, in the original swerv-

ing of the solitary atoms.

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At first and even second reading this passage might seem, especially to those unfamiliar with Epicurean logic, to bear the meaning which M. Guyau gives it. We seem at first compelled to admit its accuracy, especially if with Guyau (p. 91) and Giussani (p. 102) we detach from it the first three Taken in its context it amounts to lines. this 'We never see falling bodies swerve, it is true,' says Lucretius, 'but that does not prove it to be against nature and impossible for such a thing to happen. The human eye is incapable of deciding that falling bodies move in an absolutely straight line. A stone falling to the ground may slant to an exceedingly small extent for all that we can tell. Therefore, so far as the evidence of sense is concerned, it is not impossible that the atom should swerve (nec plus quam minimum) to a very slight degree.' It is the apparent sense of sense (res vera) which Lucretius is combating in the last two lines.

When Lucretius says that it is not impossible that falling bodies may swerve, one may indeed ask, 'Why do such masses swerve?' As to this Lucretius says nothing. He has before asserted that we believe the atoms to fall vertically because we see bodies fall vertically. He is now anxious to assert that the all-important evidence of sense does not contradict an imperceptible swerving of the atoms. We can infer nothing more from these two lines. We have no right to assume that Epicurus and Lucretius held that the swerving of single atoms has the power to give masses of matter a potency of corporate movement. This is merely an ingenious but very uncritical inference.

Giussani refers to this passage as proving that Epicurus 'admits a certain spontaneity in created nature manifested in things which do not possess free-will.' 'The argument of these lines could not have any value if it were not implied in it that, ac-

¹ For sesse Giussani reads sensu, an alteration not required. cording to Epicurus, some bodies such as stones, falling and deflected by no force, may deviate and at times do deviate spontaneously.' 'The possible eventual declination of bodies perceptible by sense proves the possible eventual declination of the atoms.' . . . 'And here (let it be said in passing) is a new argument against the principle, non plus semel atomum declinare: since the declination of a stone can result only from the declination of the atoms or of its own atoms.'

Giussani here assumes far too much. It is a specialty of Epicurean logic that it presses the absence of arguments to the contrary as positive proof of a proposition. Such a negative proof we have here in Il. 249–250. Here Lucretius says merely où à àrrµaprvpɛira (see Diog. L. x. § 33: Sextus Empir. i. 210 ff.). According to both grammar and logic the words might bear the meaning supposed. Yet the brief reference is purely controversial and does not amount to an assertion of the proposition that masses of matter can decline. Lucretius refers merely to the evidence of sense and does not need to go further.

Giussani continues 'We have here a declination in full created nature (in piena natura creata) which stands midway between the primeval declination of the isolated atoms and voluntary declination [of living creatures]: hence we have a gradation corresponding to the gradation of facts relatively to their causes referred to from Sextus Empiricus and to the gradation of Epicurus himself in the passage cited in the preceding

note.' 2

² τὰ μὲν τῶν γινομένων κατ' ἀνάγκην γίνεται, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τύχην, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς, Sextus Empir. p. 736 (ed. Bekker, 1842). But Sextus does not name or refer to Epicurus either here or in the context. The only ground for assigning these words to Epicurus is that Stobaeus, on the subject of 'Causes,' sums up Epicurus's view in a rough jotting to the same effect as Sextus's sentence: 'Eπίκουρος [προσδιαρθροῖ ταῖς αἰτίαις | κατ' ἀνάγκην, κατὰ ποραφίεσιν, κατὰ τύχην (Ecl. Phys. i. 206). In his section περὶ τύχης the pseudo-Plutarch (De Plac. Phil. i. 29) says 'Επίκουρος ἀσόστατον αἰτίαν προσώποις, χρόνοις, τρόποις (for which read τόποις), 'Epicurus holds Fortune to be an unstable cause operating in respect of persons, times, and places.' The passage of Epicurus is at Diog. L. x. 133, where Giussani adopts the text of Usener who inserts more than a line of Greek to improve the sense. The addition is most ingenious and may be true, yet has only the authority of a conjecture. At § 134 Epicurus goes on to say that Fortune is neither θεὸν nor yet αἰτίαν: she does not give us either good or evil but only puts to our hand the 'beginnings' or 'opportunities' (ἀρχὰς) of either.

The question 'Is Fortune a Cause?' was often debated in the schools of Greece.

In these passages Giussani adopts and expands Guyau's theory of a three-fold declination, mounting gradually upwards, from the blind swerving of single isolated atoms in the void to the 'spontaneity' of unconscious masses of matter and culminating in

conscious human volition.

There is much that is plausible in Guyau's view. Epicurus supposed atomic Declination to have a two-fold action, firstly as causing the falling atoms in the void to swerve and come into contact so that the worlds can come into being; secondly, the same latent force coming into action in the soul atoms, makes free-will possible for human beings. It is only natural that we should ask, What comes of this force in the interval between the isolated atoms flying free in the void and these atoms as combined in the soul? Does it disappear and cease to act in the whole realm of inorganic matter and come into activity again, only after a vast interval, in the atoms which compose the soul? It would be logical to say that it does not; but that it must work on and manifest itself in masses of matter, in bodies of all kinds. At the same time I believe that Epicurus and Lucretius did not carry out their doctrine to this logical conclusion. The texts refering to Declination (and we have very full and reliable ones in Lucretius and Cicero) declare that Epicurus applied the doctrine solely in two purposes, to allow the origin of the worlds and to explain our Free-will; for the latter item later writers sometimes substitute 'in order to destroy Necessity, sometimes 'to allow room for Chance.' The Epicurean writers speak much of Chance. It was only natural that the adherents of a system which took away all power from the Gods should refer events to 'Fortune.' 'Chance' must have been often enough in the mouth of an Epicurean just as naturally as 'Providence' in that of a Stoic or 'the hand of God' in that of a Puritan. Thus it is only natural that Lucretius should pray that the abstraction, Fortuna gubernans, should avert the end of the world .- Whether logically or illogically, Epicurus makes no reference to the action of Declination in bodies without life; probably he believed that the combination of atoms in masses of dead matter must nullify it, the swerving of one atom counteracting that of another: thus I fancy that he conceived the power, if we may so speak, to 're-awake' in the soul-atoms of living creatures. however, is to be wise above what is

There is one very strong argument which

Guyau and Giussani seem to ignore. Both Epicurus and Lucretius had a very strong grasp of the principle of Law in Nature. Epicurus's whole science of Nature is based on this. He must at once have seen that such a power as Spontaneity, working in masses of dead matter, must interfere with the course of natural law.

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Guyau's theory of Spontaneity-in-things is, I believe, merely an inference, to some degree a logical inference, from the Epicurean doctrine of atomic Declination. It is nowhere stated as a part of Epicurean belief that Declination by its activity in inorganic matter produces those events which we call 'Chance.' Epicurus would not have left a doctrine so important to be merely inferred from another doctrine implying it. This is not his manner.

One cannot help asking, What after all does 'Spontaneity' mean? We are inclined to take the meaning of such a term for granted. Is it Will without consciousness? Guyau says 'Everywhere where the atom is found, in external objects as well as ourselves, there will exist, more or less latent, the power of breaking necessity. . . . The Free-will which man possesses will exist everywhere in inferior degrees but always ready to awake and act.' We are reminded of the enchanted world of the Fairy-tales where every object possesses personality and consciousness each after its degree. Not many centuries ago the notion of a certain degree of consciousness spread through all nature was common even among men of science and philosophers. We find it even in Bacon and in so logical and clear-headed a writer as Gassendi. Thus Gassendi explains the action of the magnet by the existence both in the magnet and the iron of something analogous to sensation. The iron is drawn to the magnet 'by a kind of appetite.' There is present in the iron something which, if not soul, is 'at least analogous to soul.' 'In whatever manner we may explain the way in which a living creature is irresistibly attracted towards an object of sense, in the same fashion must we explain the attraction of the iron to the magnet. to describe the attraction of the stone to the earth he uses the term 'it feels the earth' (sentit terram) and adds 'It is very like the case of a boy who is attracted towards an apple; it is necessary that the

apple should transmit either the picture of

itself to the eye or its odour to his nostrils

¹ For a discussion of the later texts supposed by Guyau to support his theory I must refer again to the Atomic Theory of Lucretius pp. 225-8.

before the boy is drawn towards it.' 1 But Guyau's words are hardly in keeping with the science of the nineteenth century

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Many years ago I contributed to the Journal of Philology (vol. xi.) a criticism of Guyau's very remarkable chapter on Atomic Declination, so far as known to me the only examination of that chapter which has appeared. Guyau with a certain truth calls the doctrine 'the central and truly original point of the Epicurean system, namely the relation of Free-will to Atomic Declination.' Students of philosophy have generally taken Guyau's theory for granted on the strength of his brilliant reputation. Thus Professor Sidgwick (Mind, October 1879) says: 'M. Guyau defends vigorously the well-known clinamen . . . He shows the mistake of supposing that Epicurus attributed this spontaneity to his atoms only in the origination of the world, afterwards suspending its exercise and he plausibly suggests, on the strength chiefly of a passage of Plutarch 2 (De Sollertia animal. 7), that the τύχη which Epicurus admitted as a third cause, side by side with mechanical necessity and Free-will, was merely the form in which this essential spontaneity reveals itself to us.' So reasonable and logically consistent with part of Epicurean doctrine is M. Guyau's theory, so skilfully does he handle and combine the evidence which apparently makes for his opinion that it is not wonderful that Professor Sidgwick should have assumed its truth. The theory is fascinating in its way. Only -Epicurus never held it.

It seems as if the doctrines of all later philosophers were destined to be rediscovered in Aristotle. Guyau's theory is an outgrowth from Aristotle's doctrine of

¹ In his commentary on the Tenth Book of Diogenes Laertius (Lyons, 1675). Vol. i. p. 245 and 200.

² See Atomic Theory of Lucretius, page 226, where Guyau's partial version of the sentence from Plutarch and the entire passage are quoted side by

Spontaneity (τὸ αὐτόματον³) which he conceives as 'a variable element inseparably accompanying "Nature," modifying, frustrating, distorting her full purposes' as seen in deformities, monstrosities, superfluous organs, and in other ways. 4 'Aristotle views Matter as the cause of every obstruction of the plastic energy of Form.' The resistance of Matter to Form 'is the cause of all contingency in Nature,' whether as manifested in the unessential qualities of a thing which do not appear in every individual of a class, e.g., blueness in the eyes, or in those human actions which issue in results not contemplated, e.g., a voyager setting sail for one place but carried by a storm to another.3 Aristotle defines 'Spontaneity 'as occurring, strictly speaking, only in things without life, Fortune $(\tau i \chi \eta)$ where reasoning beings are concerned, the results of both being unpredictable. But surely in any human action where one is concerned, both must be so, more or less .- No thinking mind can stop at 'Fortune' as a cause of anything in human experience, e.g., what thought or feeling prompted the traveller to choose a given vessel which is destined to be driven from its course? or to sail on that occasion. ?

'It chanced. Some chance that chance did guide.'

Naturally Epicurus was repelled from a system like Aristotle's, which conceived the Divine thought to be everywhere immanent in the world, more or less completely dominating matter, expressing itself in animal, plant, or stone. But the Aristotelian theory of Spontaneity conflicted with Epicurus's teaching in one way almost as absolutely as did the doctrine of Forms in another.

JOHN MASSON.

NAPAON HINTIKH OR 'SPIKENARD.'

EVER since Patristic times the New Testament expression νάρδος πιστική, which occurs in Mark 14, 3 and John 12, 3 has been a vexed question to critics and exegetes, and this puzzle has been relegated to our English versions which render it by the equally meaningless 'spikenard.' The interpretations or explanations genuine and drinkable foisted into πιστική cannot be admitted, seeing that πιστικός, even assuming that it came from πίστις or πιστός (both from $\pi \epsilon i \theta \omega$) would mean 'pertaining to faith' or 'persuading'; the meaning 'faithful' or rather reliable, confidential being a

³ He discusses it specially in his Physics II. cc. 4-6.

4 Grote's Aristotle, Second edition, p. 115.

5 See Zeller's Aristotle, Eng. Tr. Vol. I. p. 359 ff.

Byzantine and modern Greek development. Hence the paraphrases of Euthymios καταπεπιστενμένην εἰς καθαρότητα, and Theophylact τὴν ἄδολον νάρδον καὶ μετὰ πίστεως κατασκενασθείσαν may be safely dismissed. Again, if it came from the doubtful word πιστός (from πίνω), οnce found in Aischylos (Prom. 480 πιστὰ φάρμακα, i.e. medicines 'for internal use'), πιστικὸς would denote not 'drinkable,' but fit for πστίζειν, i.e. for irrigation (of fields), to be given as a drink ('for internal use'), or rather 'able to drink,' 'fond of drinking.'

Another view, suggested by Mr. Bennet in the Classical Review of July 1890, p. 319, is to take the reading νάρδον πιστικής as standing for νάρδον πιστικής (sic), and meaning Pistacia Terebinthus. But this conjecture is open to the double objection that there is no such adjective as πιστικός, and that, even if it existed, the product so named would be not a μύρον πολύτιμον or βαρύτιμον, as the evangelists expressly state, but a kind of cheap 'turpentine,' which cannot suit the passages in question, and which, moreover, would have been conveniently expressed by the term ρητύτη.

Not satisfied with any of the above explanations and suggestions, commentators still continue to tax their ingenuity, and now no less a classical scholar than Naber comes forward with a new theory. In the current number of the Mnemosyne (vol. xxx, 1, p. 1-15), the great Dutch critic subjects the vexed term νάρδος πιστική to a special

long study, written in delightful Latin and abounding in interest. The conclusion at which Naber arrives (p. 141) is that for πιστικής we should read σπειστικής 'Apud Plinium xviii. 105 panis speusticus est a festinatione, παρὰ τὸ σπεύδειν dictus itemque νάρδος σπειστική dici potuit παρα τὸ σπένδειν. The proposed emendation is undoubtedly ingenious, and palaeographically unobjectionable, but unfortunately labours, like that of Mr. Bennet, under the double difficulty that the suggested adjective σπειστικός does not exist, as far as we know, and that, even if there was such a term, it would be associated not with perfumery (μύρα), but with a σπονδή: libatio, 'a drink-offering,' or with σπονδαί 'a truce,' 'treaty.'

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For my part I hold that Augustine was right in suggesting that 'quod ait "pistici" locum aliquem credere debemus, unde hoe erat unguentum pretiosum.' Now such a place could well be Pisidia (Πισιδία) mentioned in Acts 13, 14, so that νάρδος πιστική would be νάρδος Πισιδική mispronounced or misheard. The following passages from contemporary writers lend additional probability to this reading. Strabo 12, 7 (p. 570) ἐπαινείται δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελγική Γρις καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄλειμμα. [Σέλγη was an important city in Pisidia.] Plin. 12, 55 styrax laudatur post supra dicta ex Pisidia Sidone Cypro Cilicia Creta minume. Ex Amano Syriae medicis sed unguentariis magis. id. 21, 19 (iris) non improbatur et Pisidica.

A. N. JANNARIS.

THE HOLKHAM MS. OF CICERO.

As Prof. Peterson persists in calling this valuable MS. the Cluni MS. in spite of my protest in a public lecture delivered last February, and deliberately calls it so again and again (I have counted eighteen cases in five pages), I feel bound to renew my former protest, and to state as emphatically as I can that this identification of Lord Leicester's codex with the MS. described in the old Cluni Catalogue, rests on very slender evidence indeed. By its owner's permission the MS. was sent to the Bodleian at the beginning of this year (1902), and I examined and re-examined it there a great many times, under various lights, with and without a magnifier. In no case was I able to make out of the half-erased titulus on the first folio, on the strength of which the MS.

is ascribed by Mr. Peterson to the monastery of Cluni, more than the words de conuentu cl, and two friends whom I consulted (one of them extremely well versed in MSS.), expressed the same opinion. Indeed the indications of the smudged letters which follow cl point in a rather different direction. Nothing can certainly be made out; but still it seemed to me and my friends tolerably clear that above the line and over the smudged letters the remains of a stroke curling upwards from right to left were perceptible, suggesting a half-erased d, corresponding in form to the first d of de conuentu. This is of course inconsistent with Cluniacensi; the d might point to the monastery of S. Claude in the Jura; but it is not for me to make guesses where there is hardly the very foundation

for a guess. As for the assertion that the Holkham codex agrees too well with that described in the old Cluni Catalogue to be any but it, I have argued against this in the above-mentioned lecture, and shall not repeat what I said there; but I must deny that the Holkham MS. is 'bien nettement décrit' by the words of that description Volumen in quo continetur Cicero in Catillina et idem pro Quinto Ligario et pro rege Deiotaro et de publicis litteris et de actione idemque in Verrinis: a point however which is quite separable from the other, and on which opinions will doubtless vary. I may observe that M. Delisle whose judgment on

the smudged titulus would be invaluable, does not appear to have seen it: yet the matter cannot be decided until the MS has been submitted to the eyes of a great many palaeographical experts. But Mr. Peterson has quite decided this point to his own and Mr. Clark's satisfaction; he has reiterated 'the Cluni MS.' or 'Cluni' nearly twenty times in one paper (Classical Review 8. 401–406), as if a thing resting on little or no evidence could be proved by reiterated asserticn. Against any such hazardous conclusion, I conceive myself bound once more to offer a determined and emphatic protest.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

REVIEWS.

RODIER'S DE ANIMA OF ARISTOTLE.

Aristote. Traité de l'Ame. Traduit et annoté par G. Rodier, Maître de conférences à la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. Paris. E. Leroux. 2 vols. 1900. Pp. xvi. 269, 589. Frcs. 25.

The amount of work that has been bestowed on the de anima during the quarter of a century since the second edition of Trendelenburg might be taken to justify a new edition which did no more than put the results of those and earlier labours in an easily accessible form. M. Rodier's notes contain a copious record of the opinions of the scholars who have preceded him; but apart from this the independence and moderation of his own judgments make his book a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

It is of course easy to suggest improvements. The notes are often on such a scale that it is difficult to see the wood for the trees, and there are many cases where particular interpretations are discussed at a length quite disproportionate to their merits. Wallace for instance is frequently treated with a ceremony which one would hardly have expected from the curt sentence with which he is dismissed in the preface. On the other hand, for all the wealth of detail there is little attempt at a general treatment of the subject. The book is nothing but text translation and notes: and I think that even at the cost of increasing its already formidable bulk an introduction might have been very useful, while there are many

questions which could be more satisfactorily treated in appendices than in notes.

The translation of a book like the de anima is often inevitably rather paraphrase than metaphrase, if it is to be of any assistance to the understanding of the text. M. Rodier has attempted to combine the two by the method of inclosing in square brackets the words which do not form part of the literal translation. The effect is not always happy, as for instance in the following translation of B 5 417 30-2 άμφότεροι μεν ουν -τρόπον Les deux premiers sont donc, l'un et l'autre, savants en puissance, mais l'un [devra, pour passer à l'acte, avoir été] modifié par l'étude et avoir passé, plusieurs fois, de l'habitude contraire [, à la science], tandis que ce sera d'une façon différente que l'autre passera, de [l'état qui consiste à] posséder la sensibilité ou la grammaire, sans les exercer [actuellement], à [celui qui consiste dans] l'acte même de sentir ou de mettre en œuvre la science grammaticale].

Perhaps the most marked characteristic of M. Rodier's work is his conservative treatment of the text and in particular his steady refusal to admit dislocations. I think he sometimes carries this conservatism to an extreme point; but there are many passages where his defence of the vulgate appears to me successful. Instances may be found in A 3, 406° 2, 3 (where he retains κατὰ τὸ σῶμα and ἐνδέχεται, while in the main accepting Bonitz's criticism): in A. 4 408° 24-29 (where he points out very forcibly in opposition to Bonitz that the close re-

semblance between the $\psi v \chi \dot{\gamma}$ åρμονία theory and Aristotle's own makes it natural and appropriate to indicate before leaving the subject that the åρμονία theory really does give an answer to some of the most difficult problems involved): and in Γ 3. 427 ^b 14 ff. Instances might be multiplied. But I think it will be more useful if instead of indicating the many passages where I think M. Rodier is right I refer to some of those in which I find myself unable to agree with him.

In B 1. 412° 16–17 M. Rodier does not seem to me to have fully grasped the argument. He appears to have taken the text in 1.17 as οὖκ ἀν εἶη σῶμα ἡ ψυχή for he translates 'l'âme ne doit pas être le corps,' though he prints τὸ σῶμα ψυχή. But neither reading is satisfactory in view of the following words, οὖ γάρ ἐστι τῶν καθ' ὑποκειμένου τὸ σῶμα, μᾶλλον δ' ὡς ὑποκείμενον καὶ ὅλη, which give a reason neither for the proposition that the body is not soul nor for the proposition that the soul is not body; but for the proposition that the body is not form. The argument as I believe it must have stood may be stated as follows:—

In the case of body which being alive is not mere body but a substance composed of form and matter, the body cannot be form; for body is not predicable of a subject but is rather the subject or matter; the soul therefore must be the form of the composite substance.

The paraphrase of Themistius gives the argument substantially as I have given it, ending with the conclusion αναγκαΐον αρα την ψυχὴν είδος είναι καὶ ἐντελέχειαν καὶ οὕτως οὐσίαν ώς είδος. It then proceeds ότι γάρ οὐ σῶμα ή ψυχη οὐδε ὑποκειμένου χώραν ἔχει..... This appears to me to suggest that in his text the conclusion that soul is the form was based on the two propositions (1) that body is not the form, and (2) that the soul is not body. If this was so, our text would seem to have preserved only the second of the two propositions together with the argument used in support of the first. However this may be, I feel clear that some such words as οὖκ ἃν εἴη τὸ σῶμα εἶδος should replace the words οὐκ ἃν εἴη τὸ σῶμα ψυχή in their present position.

In A 1. 402^b 5-7 where the question is raised as to the possibility of defining soul as a whole, and in B. 3, 414^b 19-28 where it is taken up and answered, M. Rodier devotes considerable labour and ingenuity to showing that the objection to a single definition is that the kinds of soul are not

co-ordinate but subordinate, i.e., that the nutritive soul is comprehended in the sensitive, and so on. As he summarises it (p. 20) 'l'âme n'est pas un genre, et il n'y en a pas, à proprement parler, de définition, parce que les diverses sortes d'âmes ne sont pas des espèces coordonnées; qu'il y a, entre elles, de l'antérieur et du postérieur.' So again, (p. 217) 'Aristote ne songe pas à la question de l'existence des genres; il dit seulement que l'âme n'est pas un genre.' I think this involves a misconception of the two passages in question and perhaps of the position of universals in Aristotle's theory of know-What Aristotle says in B 3 is not that 'l'âme n'est pas un genre 'at all : but that in the case of kinds of soul as in that of geometrical figures the only general notion which will fit all is one which is not proper to any particular kind of soul or any particular figure, and that it is absurd to look for a general notion in these as in other cases without investigating the infimae species. He does not base the argument on τὸ ἐφεξης at all, but brings that in subsequently as a mere note of the closeness of the analogy between geometrical figures and the kinds of soul. The point of the words οὖτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ σχῆμα παρὰ τὸ τρίγωνον κ.τ.λ. is not peculiar to classes of which the components are in series, as may be seen in Met. Z. 13. 1038b 10-1039a 2: nor I think would Aristotle recognise it as accurate to say that $\sigma \chi \hat{\eta} \mu a$ and $\psi \nu \chi \hat{\eta}$ are not genera (see for instance Met. B 3. 999a 10-12). The case is in fact a particular application of the doctrine that in strictness the object of knowledge is the form which is common to all individuals of a species, not the genus.

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In Γ 2. 425 15-17 ἔτι δ'εἰ καὶ ἐτέρα εἶη ἡ της όψεως αισθησις, η είς απειρον είσιν η αὐτή τις έσται αὐτῆς Μ. Rodier translates 'En outre, alors même que le sens de la vision serait autre [que la vue], ou bien il faudra aller à l'infini, ou bien ce second sens devra se sentir lui-même.' The obvious translation of the words $\hat{\eta}$ eis $\tilde{a}\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\rho\nu$ — $a\hat{v}\tau\hat{\eta}$ s seems to me however to be 'either the series [of senses each having its predecessor for object] will continue to infinity or some one of the series will have itself for object.' And the logic of the argument also favours this view: for strictly the necessary alternative to the continuation of the series to infinity is not that the second of the series but that some one of the series should be its own object.

In Γ . 2. $426^{\rm b}$ 15–17 M. Rodier prefaces his own explanation by arguing chiefly on the strength of *de part. an.* B. 10. $656^{\rm a}$ 27 ff. that the organ of touch and the organ of the

common sense are identical, and also from de an. B. 11. 422b 34-423b 26 that flesh is not the organ of touch: and then proceeds 'Aristote remarque donc ici que l'organe immédiat du sens commun ne peut pas être la chair. Et il en donne la raison suivante: le sens commun doit saisir la différence des sensibles qu'il discerne ; il faut donc qu'il les sente l'un et l'autre, ce qui revient à dire que l'organe du sens commun doit être affecté par l'un et par l'autre. Comme la chair n'est affectée que par contact, il faudrait, pour qu'elle fût l'organe du sens commun, que les sensibles visuels et sonores, par exemple, exerçassent un contact sur elle. ce qui, en fait, n'a pas lieu.' This appears to me eminently unsatisfactory as an interpretation. If Aristotle is here assuming the correctness of the argument of B. 11 according to which flesh is not the organ of touch but a medium whose function in relation to the sense of touch corresponds to that of air and water in relation to sight hearing and smell, I do not see that there is any possible point in considering at all whether it is the organ of the common sense. On the other hand if, as the words ἀνάγκη γὰρ ην άπτόμενου αὐτοῦ κρίνειν τὸ κρίνον to my mind suggest, the popular opinion that $\sigma\acute{a}\rho \xi$ is the organ of touch and that touch requires no medium is here assumed, the argument is consecutive enough: flesh, the organ of the fundamental sense of touch, cannot be the immediate organ of the common sense, for if it were, a judgment could only be passed by touching the object itself: nor indeed can a judgment involving qualities perceptible by different senses be formed by means of any of the organs of sense taken separately. I do not think the analysis of B. 11 is at all fatal to this view. Aristotle is quite capable of dissenting from the popular opinion and then returning to it and using it where his distinction is unimportant for the question under discussion. In fact he has already done so in regard to the argument of B. 11 in Γ . 1. 424 27-30,

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καὶ ὅσων μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπτόμενοι αἰσθανόμεθα, τῆ άφῆ αἰσθητά ἐστιν, ἡν τυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες: ὅσα δὲ διὰ τῶν μεταξύ, καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν ἀπτόμενοι, τοῖς ἀπλοῖς, λέγω δ' οἷον ἀέρι καὶ ὕδατι.

An instance of conservatism verging on the heroic is to be found in Γ . 6. 430^b 14-20. Prof. Bywater (Journal of Philology, vol. xvii. p. 58) has pointed out that the clause κατά συμβεβηκὸς δὲ - άδιαίρετα (ll. 16, 17) and the following sentences are appropriate if not necessary as a supplement to the words εὶ δ' ὡς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ ἐπ' άμφοῦν (ll. 13, 14): and his reconstruction of the passage, by simply transferring τὸ δὲ μη κατὰ ποσὸν-ψυχη̂ς (ll. 14, 15) to a position after μηκει in l. 20, and reading \eth νοεῖ for ψ νοεί in l. 16 appears to me quite convincing. M. Rodier keeps the order of the vulgate but in Il. 16, 17 reads κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ, καὶ οὐχ ἡ ἐκείνα, διαιρετὰ ῷ νοεί καὶ ἐν ψ χρόνψ, ἄλλη ἀδιαίρετα, the only changes being the placing of the comma before instead of after διαιρετά and the substitution of $\tilde{a}\lambda\lambda\eta$ for $\tilde{a}\lambda\lambda'$ $\tilde{\eta}$. He understands the sentence as referring to the νόησις των τω είδει άδιαιρέτων, and takes ἐκείνα as meaning τὰ κατὰ ποσὸν ἀδιαίρετα. His interpretation may be put shortly as follows: 'the ἀδιαίρετα τῷ ἔιδει are apprehended in an indivisible time and by an indivisible mental operation: the time and the mental operation can only be regarded as divisible accidentally, and not as in the case of ἀδιαίρετα κατὰ ποσόν (which are δυνάμει διαιρετά): and in all other respects they are indivisible.' Apart from the question whether η ἐκείνα and ἄλλη ἀδιαίρετα can bear the meanings assigned to them the result seems to me both clumsy in expression and inept in substance. It does not perhaps necessarily follow that it is not what Aristotle wrote; but I cannot believe that it is.

In conclusion I would repeat that students of Aristotle owe M. Rodier a debt of gratitude for a really valuable book.

H. M'LEOD INNES.

CHOLMELEY'S THEOCRITUS.

The Idylls of Theocritus. Edited with Introduction and Notes by R. J. CHOLMELEY, M.A., Assistant Master at the City of London School. London: George Bell & Sons. 1901. Pp. viii, 392. 7s. 6d.

PROBABLY in no country has Theocritus been

more diligently studied or had greater influence upon the native literature than in Britain. Yet though this study dates back more than three hundred years, the helps supplied to students by scholars have on the whole been curiously meagre. A goodly number of editions have appeared but com

mentary in most of them has hardly extended beyond critical notes. The most pretentious of these editions-Warton's edition of 1770 is in several respects the worst. had more advantages than fall to the lot of most editors; he had at his disposal the collected materials for two editions that The most induswere never completed. trious and most careful collator of the MSS. of Theocritus that has ever lived, James St. Amand, of Lincoln College, Oxford, had bequeathed in 1754 his great collection of materials, the work of a lifetime, to the The collection contained ad-Bodleian. mirable collations of ten MSS, in the Vatican with some details regarding the readings of several others and less good but still valuable collations of the best MSS, at Florence and at Paris. Warton knew so little how to handle his materials that in an appendix he lumped together the readings, drawing from St. Amand's Vatican Collations under the general heading Vat. without ever taking the trouble to record from which of the numerous Vatican MSS. the reading was taken.

The next important English edition was Gaisford's with critical notes only and founded as ill-fortune would have it rather upon the careless and comparatively worthless collations of D'Orville than upon the much more valuable materials left behind by St. Amand. In 1821 Thomas Briggs, a former Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, published his edition with Latin translation and notes which for long held the field deservedly as the student's book. His text and his notes alike were constructed on a sensible and business-like method. Wordsworth was a far greater scholar and his conjectures with the possible exception of those by the unknown scholar who wrote the best MS. k. are the best that have been made on Theocritus. But to the beginner who knew nothing of Doric and found Theocritus difficult, Wordsworth gave very little help. His illustrations often drawn from the Christian Fathers illustrated nothing to the undergraduate but the profound learning of the bishop. Paley's edition was hurried, as unfortunately much of his work was, but it was useful to the student. Kynaston's book was intended for still younger students. Though much more elementary it is modelled to some extent upon Fritzsche's German edition, which, as revised by Hiller, is the best edition ever published for young students. Mr. Cholmeley aims at supplying the English reader with a similar work in English. His read-

ing of Theocritean literature is wide. thorough, and up to date. Nothing of any importance seems to have escaped him. In his introduction and commentary he discusses the views propounded by innumerable critics and gives the substance of them in a nutshell. His conspectus of readings, however, is disproportionately short, seeing that the book is so thorough in other respects and the account of the dialect at the end is too brief and often expressed in a phraseology which to the beginner will be misleading. Thus to say (p. 379) that 'n always becomes a in terminations' is to turn the history of the language upside down. It is not enough to say of the hyperdorism ποιμάν (p. 381) that 'in stems of words α appears for η in many cases, but by no means universally, ποιμήν not ποιμάν; ἀπεχθής not ἀπεχθάς.' Nowhere apparently is it explained to the beginner that in Attic \(\eta \) two original sounds are confused which Doric keeps distinct. Equally unhistorical is it to say that ā stands 'for ov (= ao) in genitive first declension." The inclusion (p. 36) of ἄρνεσσι among 'long obsolete Homeric forms' when in Theocritus' own time the engravers were still writing Aeolic inscriptions containing similar forms, shows that Mr. Cholmeley has devoted less attention to the history of the language of his author than it deserves. For a second edition the account of the dialect should be rewritten and a clear statement made at the beginning of the relation in which the sounds of Doric stand to the sounds of Attic. Nor should such an account be founded like the present on Ahrens' work of 1843 but on the more recent treatment by Boisacq, Pezzi, and

The introduction which occupies nearly sixty pages is clear and precise. It is divided into four sections: A. The Life of Theocritus, B. Theocritus' Verse, Style, and Dialect, C. Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Theocritus, D. The Pastoral. For the Life of Theocritus the ancient authorities are collected and their value discussed. To the poet's relations with the Ptolemies considerable space is devoted. It is argued that Theocritus was in Alexandria as a court poet before 271 B.C.; that to a still earlier period, 275 B.C., belongs the address to Hiero; that Theocritus was a native of Sicily; that the theory of his Coan origin is without foundation and that the Scholium on Id. vii, 21 does not prove 'that Theocritus was a Coan or even that he had relations in the island.' On the other hand Mr. Cholmeley argues that the story of

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Theocritus' connexion with Philetas (or should we now write Philitas?) is to be trusted and that Theocritus along with Leonidas of Tarentum, Asclepiades, Alexander the Actolian, Nicias and Aratus of Idyll vii, (who, as the quantity of the first a in his name shows, is not the poet of the Phaenomena) were in Cos probably between 290 B.C. and 285 B.C. (p. 14). The birth of Theocritus is therefore dated about 310 B.C.; his visit to Cos twenty years later; his pastoral poetry, the scene of some idylls being certainly laid in Cos, between 284 and 280 B.C. After this Toeocritus returned to Sicily and finding but a cold welcome departed to Alexandria about 274 B.C., whence later, after a coolness had arisen between him and Ptolemy, he retired to Cos about 270 B.c. (ρ . 35). The evidence on which any life of Theocritus can be founded is so slight that scholars are never likely to agree on its details. But of Mr. Cholmeley's piecing together of the facts it may at least be said that it does less violence to probabilities and is much less a product of fancy than those of Gercke and others whom he confutes. For the whole of his introduction he has made good use of his predecessors especially Legrand's excellent book on Theocritus and Couat (misprinted throughout as Conat) on Alexandrian poetry. His account of the MSS. evidence for the authenticity of the poems is founded on Ahrens' paper in Philologus xxxiii and on Hiller's Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker. To no scholar has the criticism of Theocritus owed more than to Ahrens, wild as his transpositions in the text are. Though apparently he never saw with his own eyes a single MS. of the first rank, he was well served by his collators and in particular Dübner deserves to be remembered for the care with which he collated the Paris MS D and distinguished the various hands which have corrected it. One piece of erroneous information regarding it, however, he sent to Ahrens which bids fair to be perpetuated in spite of the contradictory evidence of the old Paris Catalogue, M. Omont's brief catalogue, and of the writing of the MS. itself. Dübner unfortunately asserted that the MS, belongs to the fourteenth century. There are few hands of which it could be said with more certainty that it is not older than the very end of the fifteenth, the Paris Catalogue assigns it to the sixteenth. The value of the MS., notwithstanding its late date, is very great, but obviously its lateness invalidates all theories which are NO. CXLVI. VOL. XVI

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founded upon its being from one to two hundred years earlier. Another misconception which seems to prevail regarding this MS. is with regard to the portions into which the part of it containing Theocritus is divided by blank spaces. The whole MS. is in one handwriting. The symbols D1, D2, D3 as Mr. Cholmeley gives them, or DA, DB, DC according to Ahrens, only indicate that the portions of the MS, so named are drawn from different texts or collections of the poems. Mr. Cholmeley no doubt knows this, but his remarks on the MS. might possibly convey a different impression to the reader. Moreover, it is not clear that it was the scribe of D who drew his text in different parts of his MS. from different sources; the gaps which he leaves in his MS. are clearly intended to show that he considered there were lacunae in his source or sources and that he could guess approximately how great these lacunae were. Thus it seems that somewhere about 1500 A.D. a copyist made the MS. D from a source which he recognised as defective and which therefore, as may be argued from the points where the lacunae come, had once contained more Theocritean poems than we now possess. It may be added that Vat. 23 is no longer quite so mutilated as it was, having been rebound in one volume instead of being in fragments throughout two volumes as it was when the published collations were made from it.

Mr. Cholmeley's discussion of the poems after Id. xviii, which cannot with certainty be attributed to Theocritus is good. Id. xxi. he ingeniously but hesitatingly attributes to Leonidas of Tarentum; xix. he, like others, assigns to Bion; xx. xxiii. xxvii he rejects absolutely, the last (1) on the ground of its style, an argument which may be valid, and (2) on the ground of its coarseness, which, considering what Theocritus can write on occasion in poems undoubtedly genuine, is surprising. He seems to me right in taking Id. xxv. and Megara together as the work of one author, whether Theocritus or another.

Of the commentary it may be said that it is sufficient for all practical purposes. I am sorry Mr. Cholmeley does not accept the reading $\pi o \rho \theta \mu \hat{n}$ Kalvõví ϕ in Id. i. 57 which is practically the reading of k $(\pi o \rho \theta \mu \hat{n})$ and is also suggested by Vat. 20 $\pi o \rho \theta \mu \hat{n})$. His argument that verse 24 suggests Sicily is of doubtful value. That Chromis the Libyan could as easily be found in Cos as in Sicily is shown by the mention of a Libyan in an inscription of Cnidus (Collitz-Bechtel, 3510), while verse 65 occurs in the song, which is

certainly a Sicilian song though its setting need not be Sicilian. Six verses later his explanation of ἐκλελάθοντα as a present formed from the perfect stem is doubtful on account of the quantity. That the perfect stem is short in feminine participles is true

but not to the point.

In iv. 20-22 Mr. Cholmeley rightly takes τοὶ τῶ Λαμπριάδα separate from τοὶ δαμόται as 'I hope Lampriades' folk, the demesmen, etc., but his further note 'Who Lampriades was is wholly unknown; perhaps an eponymous hero of the deme,' seems very doubtful. Deme heroes in the south of Italy would not have been much better known to the majority of Theocritus' readers than they are to us; the reference must have been more generally intelligible. May it not have been to a proverbially envious and mischievous character whom the Demesmen resembled? Such an one was Παταικίσκος ὁ Λαμπρίωνος in Herondas iv. 63 who is apparently the same as the Παταικίων of Aeschines in Ctes. 189 and appears again in the proverb Παταικίωνος συκοφαντικώτερος in Mich. Apost. xiv. 13. A patronymic directly formed from Λαμπρίων could not find a place in hexameter verse; hence therefore Λαμπρίαδα like Δευκαλίδη (voc.) from Δευκαλίων in Iliad xiii. 307. If this explanation is possible the passage means 'May the Sons of Belial the Demesmen get such an one when they sacrifice,' and the reading κακοφράσμων or κακοφράδμων of the Harleian MS. might then be justified in the In Id. v. there are many points next line. where the text is uncertain or unsound but the number of various readings given is very small. In v. 125 τὰ δέ τ' οἴσυα καρπὸν ἐνείκαι is read without variant or comment although the reading is only a conjecture of Fritzsche's and far from certain. In the note on vii. 99 discussing who "Αριστις might have been, the conjecture of E. Maass (Aratea p. 320) that he was Aristotherus the astronomer might have been mentioned. In ix. 26 'Iκαρίαισι is rightly kept but surely with the wrong explanation. The rocks can hardly be those of the Island of Icaros; there seems no difficulty in the ordinary explanation that they are the cliffs of the Icarian Sea which according to the scholia on Iliad ii. 145 was the name of the sea between Crete and Sicily. Bergk's 'Υκ-καρίαισι is rightly rejected. Greeks were not

likely to talk of a place which was always a barbarian town and which moreover had been destroyed 150 years before. Reading, text and commentary of Id. xvi. 63 are curiously confused. The text and the lemma of the note are παρελθεῦν but the explanation is of παρειπεῦν. On the very corrupt verse xxi. 15 Mr. Cholmeley makes the ingenious suggestion to read οὐδεῖς οὐ σισύραν εἶχ' οὐ λίνα κ.τ.λ. which if not quite convincing is at least as good as any other that has been made. A better illustration for the battered ears of the boxer Amycus (p. 341) would be the statue of a boxer found in Rome in 1885.

One merit of this edition deserves the reader's special gratitude,-the number and excellence of the parallels from Greek and English literature. They are not dragged in by force but are really to the point. On the other hand in closing this review it is necessary to mention one serious drawback to the book from the point of view of the serious student. This is the number and grossness of the misprints. No blame attaches to Mr. Cholmeley for the sorry condition in which his book appears. Owing to his absence from the country the proof reading was left to a friend and the tender mercies of the Clarendon Press reader. The friend must be made responsible for the way in which the names of writers on Theocritus are presented to us. As already mentioned Couat appears uniformly as Conat; Kuiper is disguised as Kniper, Futh as Fath and again as Frith. But the press reader might surely have corrected such sentences as 'the road...must have laid to the north of Pyxa' (p. 247) or 'neither of these are given in Liddell and Scott' (p. 315). The ingenious suggestion to emend νύμφα γαμεθείσ' ἀκάχοιτο. in viii. 91 to νύμφαν γα μεθείς ά. will first, require to be emended itself, for it has been printed νύμφαν γαμεθείς. After such things as these one hardly expects on turning to. the last leaf, to find that the book has been printed at Oxford by the Printer to the University. It is to be hoped that the demand for a second edition will soon afford Mr. Cholmeley an opportunity to set these and various other points to rights. At present they are blemishes on a book which will be very useful.

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Apparently Mr. Cholmeley changed his opinion afterwards, for in the introduction to Id. iii. (p. 212) Id. i. is said to be a Coan poem.

² If Cluverius is right in saying that the modern name Carini represents an older Muro di Carini (for d'Icarini), the place must have revived enough to perpetuate the name.

MOHL ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF POPULAR LATIN.

Introduction à la Chronologie du Latin Vulgaire, étude de Philologie Historique. Par F. George Mohl, Lecteur à l'Université de Prague (Bouillon, Paris, 1899, 10 fr.).

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This is a most interesting and important book. It appeals, in the first place, to all students of Latin as a language, and in the second, to all who are interested in tracing the historical influence of the Roman dominion upon the civilisation of Europe. And if its conclusions or even its general standpoint be made good-and the author has certainly 'rendered it extremely probable'-it marks an epoch, and it may be fairer to say that it creates one, in the whole study of Romance Philology. Even to one who can claim no special knowledge of this latter department it is clear that Dr. Mohl has completely overthrown the current conceptions of the way in which Latin broke up into the Romance tongues. We have generally assumed that Vulgar Latinthough we did not ask ourselves precisely what was meant by the phrase—being planted down in so many different countries, proceeded to convert itself, some time between, say, Marcus Aurelius and Charlemagne, into so many different languages. In the light of the criticism which Dr. Mohl has focussed upon various vague statements of this kind, there emerges for the first time a consistent and intelligible theory, or set of theories, which, whether they are finally accepted or not, can at least be rationally discussed. We are no longer beating the air, wrestling with impalpable generalities; but considering definite theses which can be tested, and either confirmed or modified by the ordinary methods of scientific philology. This is a quite enormous gain, as every one will feel who remembers the distressing vagueness on all chronological points of writers like Diez and Brachet 1; or the wise but not less disappointing silences of Meyer-Lübke's great Grammar. However much correction Dr. Mohl's essay may receive in details, and even if no one of his theses should be maintained in its present forma result which I hardly think likely-he would still deserve our gratitude for the breadth of view, the learning, and the courage he has shown in grappling with a

Lernaean tangle of problems. Other enquirers must follow the lines he has laid down, and his exploration will do a great deal to stimulate further research. De l'audace, toujours de l'audace is the only motto by which a road-maker can accomplish his task; and considering its magnitude, the reader will look leniently upon errors in particular points, and even upon an occasional lapse from sound methods of reasoning. When all these are pointed out and corrected the book still remains a great achievement.

The high-water mark of previous speculation is represented by Gröber's canons (Archiv. Lat. Lex. 1. p. 213), which were the first attempt to connect with Romance philology the different dates at which Latin was introduced by Roman conquest into the different provinces. The Romance languages, excluding Italian, fell into a kind

of order of seniority, thus,

- 1. Sardinian.
- 2. Spanish.
- Portuguese.
 Catalonian.
- 5. Provençal.
- 6. French.
- 7. Romansch (Rhaeto-romanian).
- 8. Roumanian.

This order is still one of the most important conditions of the problem, but by no means the only one, as Gröber was inclined to assume. His doctrine formed a series of steps, of which the first was that the agreement of all these eight branches in any particular with Italian and Classical Latin proved that that particular form or use was common to Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin; the second, that agreement between all save Italian and Classical Latin proved that the form or use existed in Vulgar Latin at least as early 2 as 100 A.D., and so forth, until finally we arrived at elements common only to Sardinian and Spanish, and these, it was concluded, must have existed in Vulgar Latin as early 2 as 200 B.C.

It will be seen at once that this was an application of Schleicher's 'Stammbaumtheorie' in almost its crudest form, and was open to all the criticisms which have caused

¹ Bourciez's admirable Précis de Phonétique Française (New Edn. 1900) gives many valuable points, within a very small compass.

² Gröber writes 'as late as' ('belegt die Existenz einer Wortform bis nach 100 n. Chr.'). As Dr. Mohl's French phrase ('jusqu'à') is ambiguous, I have expressed what seems to me the more important aspect of the date.

that theory to disappear from our text-books of Philology: for example, we have absolutely no right to assume, without special evidence, that some word common to Sardinian and Spanish was not introduced into both either from Latin itself or some neighbouring form of it at some date far later than 200 B.C. This consideration alone was enough to bring Gröber's edifice to the ground; but even he left us to enquire what he precisely meant by Vulgar Latin, why he distinguished it so sharply from Classical Latin, and how far he meant to regard it as one and the same language all over the Roman world from 200 B.C. till 400 A.D. On these points there has been much cry and little wool; and even Dr. Mohl, in his opening chapters, does not altogether escape from the depressing atmosphere of unsupported generalities from which his book as a whole may be said to have delivered us. His main theses may be stated as follows:

- 1. Starting (p. 23) from the principle laid down by Meyer-Lübke that Vulgar Latin was (at one time) an actual single spoken language and that dialectic variations within it (during that time) must not be assumed except where the evidence is con-clusive, Dr. Mohl ends (p. 276 ff.) by enumerating several such variations which he regards as proved, e.g. 'en Afrique, si nos souvenirs sont exacts, il n'y a pas d'exemples de la réduction' of au to o.
- 2. The origin of this language is not to be sought in any of the Provinces, but in the Latin spoken in Italy generally, i.e. the language which resulted from the gradual superimposition of Latin, especially after 89 B.C., upon all the tribes of the peninsula, who till Latin reached them had been speaking different lan-guages,—Etruscan, Celtic, Venetic, Greek, Messapian, as well as the Italic dialects in the strict sense-Oscan, Umbrian, Volscian, and the rest.

This resultant language which we may call Italicised Latin or 'Italo-Latin,' differed in many respects from the language of the cultured class at Rome, but it was by no means unintelligible to them; there was no break in continuity between the two. The fusion is admirably illustrated (p. 50) by the fact that Augustus, born at the Volscian Velitrae, always declined domus

The italics are mine. The phrase recurs on 246; Dr. Mohl avows rather frankly the weak joints in his armour.

with a good Volscian Genitive, domos (Suet. Oct. 87), and by other hardly less striking features.² And I may add that actual examples of insec. in this Italicised Latin may be found appended to nearly every section of my 'Italic Dialects.'8

3. It follows that the peculiarities of this pro-ethnic Romance are all ancient and must be studied in their historical connexion with the peculiarities of the Dialects from which they were introduced into Latin.

Thus the palatalisation of the gutturals in Romance is put into fruitful connexion with the partial appearance of the same phenomenon in Umbrian and S. Oscan :and I should add Marsian (Marsi = pure Lat. Martii) Paelignian (or N. Oscan),4 and also Etruscan to the list. And some striking divergences between the Romance languages are explained as due to changes in the parent Italo-Latin which did not spread to particular areas of Romance. Thus (p. 27) the It.-Lat. forms illui, illuius, and their derivatives are strange to Spain because huius, hui(c) on the pattern of which they were formed had gone out of use with all other cases of hic in the greater part of Spain at an early date. Seneca and Lucan do not use hic, but iste in its place.

But this is only half of the story. Perhaps the most important of all Dr. Mohl's conclusions is the following.

- 4. Upon this popular stratum of spoken, colloquial Italo-Latin, was continually imposed the usage (in vocabulary, morphology, and idiom) of literary Latin. The civil authorities, the military authorities, the schools endowed by government, and last but not least the Church, all enforced upon the provinces the standard literary idiom,
- ² Mohl hesitates to recognise non-Latin Nominatives in Sannis, Arpinas, etc. (Brugmann, Grundr. i. 1 p. 551). But Brugmann seems to me certainly right, though he has removed the remark from his second edition. The whole formation in -ti- is non-Latin, as I hope to show in a forthcoming paper on the Ethnica of Italy.

3 They were so frequent that, with a few similar

documents, they seemed to call for a special numera-tion, see the 'Notes' (i-xliii) passim.

But not the Latin of the Duenos-insc., as to which Dr. Mohl seems under some strange delusion (pp. 304-5). The sign o (i.e. c in retrograde script) appears only in uirco, cosmis, pacari, feed; and it is probable in feed, possible in pacari that we should read k instead of c; k occurs nowhere else. What could be further from the facts than to say that we have here a distinction of 'k velaire, c palatal'?

which never died out, and which remained in living contact with colloquial speech until the break-up of the Empire.1 Then, but not till then, the old bond was loosed, and the countries of Europe, with their languages, plunged into the isolation of the

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Middle Ages. The results of this perpetual fusion between a standard language and popular idiom are of vital importance to Philology. Nowhere else have we such ocular demonstration of an external interference with Phonetic change, and nowhere was the light it throws on such changes more urgently needed. Thus we see how it was that Fr. chose came by its ch. Had it sprung directly from cosa, the colloquial Italo-Latin form of the Republic, it would have retained its c as much as coûter from constare or col from collum; as it was, the schools inculcated causa as the correct pronunciation and so exposed the word to the change which made carum into cher, cambiare into changer. But the word causer again, from causari, shows a new introduction of a literary form at a far later epoch. Mohl declares with literal truth, 'there was no epoch at which a literary form could not pass directly into colloquial language.' The attractive explanation (p. 248) of the curious prohibitive Infinitive (Fr. ne pas fumer, Ital. non dimenticarsi, etc.) as derived from the (Oblique) Impf. Subjunctive of Classical Latin (cf. Roum. nu lăudă 'ne lauda,' beside nu lăudareti 'ne laudate') is another more recondite example of the same principle.2 In just the same way, at a far earlier epoch, the influence of Greek schoolmasters gave to cultured Latin the Nom. in -us (identical in sound with Gr. -os of the κοινή) in place of the mere -o to which the orig. . os had sunk in spoken Latin by 150 B.C. On this long-debated point I venture to think Dr. Mohl (p. 183 ff.) has said the last word.

Finally 5. Peculiarities due to the ancient dialects of Italy, from which Italo-Latin received its native colour, are fairly frequent in Italian and its modern dialects; (e.g., the complete loss of

final -t (p. 254); Italian has no -t- form like Fr. parle-t-il; contrast, e.g. come sta ella?); but they occur only sporadically elsewhere; more often in Sardinian and Spanish than in the younger branches (pp. 55, 117, 254 ff).

- 6. The result of these principles is to establish four great periods in the history of Latin (Ch. vi.):
- (a) The formation of the Italic Dialects. This lasted down to the Hannibalic War in some parts of Italy; down to Sulla in others.
- (b) The Constitution of the general Latin of Italy (Italo-Latin, as I suggest it be called). From Hannibal, or Sulla, down to Augustus and later. It is to this period that Mohl refers, with great probability, some of the most striking changes in Romance, such as the palatalisation of the gutturals.3

(c) The Unification of Imperial Vulgar' Latin; from the Caesars to the beginning of the fourth century.

(d) The Decomposition of Imperial Vulgar Latin. From the beginning of the fourth century (e.g., 329 A.D.5 when Constantine moved to Constantinople) to the fall of the Empire and later.

I have happily but little room left for the thankless task of pointing out defects. In the first half of the book, and sometimes later, Dr. Mohl gives far too few examples of his general statements; for instance one would gladly sacrifice many pages of graceful rhetoric for half-a-dozen insec. to illustrate the essential unity of Imperial Latin (p.39); and at least one or two of the Romance treatment of German ki, ke as distinct from Latin ci, ce (p. 291). The points seem to be admitted and the reader could probably hunt examples elsewhere, if he had time; but it is really not his share of the work. Akin to this is the natural but fatal weakness of unverified references. On p. 113 we are astonished to learn 'd'après le témoignage' of Livy (ix. 36), that the Roman youth of the fifth century B.C. was regularly trained in Etruscan. Livy expressly rejects this theory and

¹ I do not think Dr. Mohl quotes the very important remark of Suetonius (c. 88) about Augustus' bad spelling.

² Mohl does not explicitly mention the point

which seems to me to place this explanation almost beyond doubt, namely that this Inf. is especially regular in quasi-public documents, street-warnings and the like; where the legal Impf. Subj. in Latin (e.g. in Senatus Consulta) was regular.

³ I do not wish to be understood as accepting more than the general principle of this theory. For example (p. 311) the spelling *liovina* is the merest freak of priestly etymology, as I have shown in *Ital. Dial.* p. 405 footn.

⁴ The title is perfectly sound, in spite of the

curious (and suggestive) juxtaposition.

⁵ So Mohl. On the precise date see Bury, in his Edition of Gibbon, II. 157, footn. 65.

gives a convincing reason for so doing. The same author in xxv. 3 makes no reference whatever to the subject in hand on p. 96. The reference to Gellius 11. 7. 5 on p. 62 does not quite justify the 'témoignage formel' ascribed to him that 'Etruscan was still generally spoken in the country.' might refer to 'Manx or Anglo-Saxon' today in precisely the same way as Gellius does to 'Etruscan and Gallic.' The authority from whom the statement as to Ovid is taken on p. 177 must have said something more intelligible than that 'gaudia pour gaudium apparait regulièrement à l'élision, seeing that no Case of gaudium could appear at any other place in either of the metres that Ovid uses, and probably none appears at all. A reference to an article (Idg. Forsch. 2, 157), of the present writer's to which Dr. Mohl alludes on p. 320 would have supplied him with fresh evidence for several of his strongest contentions (e.g., in regard to Digentia) and at the same time have saved him from an unhappy confusion between the real Sabine change of d to l, and the (utterly fictitious) 'change of l to d, which Dr. Postgate disposed of long ago. It would be worse than absurd to complain that a scholar who has so thoroughly mastered Von Planta's great Grammar of the Italic Dialects felt it unnecessary to secure access to any other recent edition of their remains: but I may be pardoned for rejoicing that on very many chronological points Dr. Mohl's conclusions tally closely with those of my own edition, and that on others the scrutiny of the epigraphic and alphabetic data which I attempted throughout will furnish him with a good deal of definite chronological evidence whose absence he more than once deplores (e.g. p. 106). There too he will find deliverance from the phantom form 'aurunkud' (not, as he tacitly emends (p. 102), 'aurunkad') which was never anything but a false conjecture as to the reading of a coin of Naples (I. D. no. 145). Into other points of this nature I will not enter; but I should

perhaps note that Beloch's Italischer Bund unter Römischer Hegemonie supplies many valuable data which Dr. Mohl had not yet laid under contribution.

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Here and there Dr. Mohl evinces a certain laxity in the handling of phonetic questions which betrays a pupil of the light-hearted Bréal. He conjectures (p. 253), that a form *plusiores defied rhotacism in the first syllable because '*plurores faisait difficulté;' why, pray, did not maerores from *maesores (cf. maestus) do the same? And there is a painful obscurity about the alleged 'utilisation' of the dialectal doublets mentioned on p. 273. Such slips, however, are exceptional; in the essay as a whole the reader will recognise with gratitude the soundness of the author's method in complex questions of Phonology. It could not indeed be otherwise: for without the stricter canons of the Neugrammatiker no such book could have been even conceived. Most of the problems with which it wrestles were, in the days of Corssen, no problems at all. How could any weary mortal be asked to vex himself with the chronology of Grammar when it was well understood that any odd sound might become any other odd sound in any odd form in any odd language at any odd moment it chose?

Dr. Mohl has given us a typical and exemplary picture of a language, the Imperial Vulgar Latin, in growth, in being, and in decay, a study of the highest value for science and for education. Reams of generalities on the Theory of Language will teach us far less; and his Essay deserves a most respectful and cordial welcome.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, Oct. 3, 1902.

[The delay in the appearance of a notice of Mr. Mohl's book is due to a misapprehension for which Prof. Conway is in no way responsible.—ED. C.R.]

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Hippocratis Opera quae feruntur. Vol. II. Ex codicibus Italicis edidit Hugo Kuehle-Wein (Bibl. script. Graec. et Rom. Teubn.). Lipsiae 1902. Pp. xvi. 279. Mk. 5.

It were ungracious to complain of the devotion of the time and toil of the editor of this new text of Hippocrates, and unkind to draw attention too querulously to the date (1895) of the first volume of his opus aerumnosum. Of the first volume, as well as of the intention of the Editor, and of the sources upon which he would rely, I gave a brief account in the Classical Review in 1897 (Vol. xi. p. 162); I have now only

to announce the appearance of its successor. In the present instalment are included the chief surgical works of the Canon, and it may be added that these, if not quite certainly from the hand of Hippocrates himself, are yet Coan treatises of no less antiquity. These are the $\Pi \epsilon \rho i \ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ i \nu \kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \hat{\eta}$ $\tau \rho \omega \mu \hat{\alpha} \nu \nu$; the $Kar' \ 1 \eta \tau \rho \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu i \nu \kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \hat{\eta}$ the $\Pi \epsilon \rho i \ \alpha \rho \theta \rho \omega \nu$, and the $Mo\chi \lambda \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$. The $Kar' \ 1 \eta \tau \rho \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu i$ is a mere collection of notes which may have served as an introduction to the Fractures and the Luxations, of which moreover the $Mo\chi \lambda \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ is no doubt an excerpt. These treatises are among the most important and authentic of the Collection.

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The various readings, which appear to be very full and careful, are at the foot of the page. There are no notes or excursus, but at the end of the volume is an Index voc. memorabilium. In a short preface Kuehlewein defends certain readings in the first volume, and justifies others in tescond. The Editor acknowledges deep obligations to Diels, Ilberg, and Hugo Weber. Volumes so handy and a text so accurate will, when complete, be a very welcome addition to private as well as to public libraries. Littré's text was a great advance upon that of Kühn, yet left a good deal to be desired.

T. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

P. Papinius Statius. Vol. II., Fasc. I.,
Achilleis. Edidit A. Klotz. Pp. xliv.,
62. Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri.
Mk. 1.20.

THE latest part of the welcome new Teubner edition of Statius by Alfred Klotz contains a very careful description of the Codex Puteaneus, on which by common consent the criticism of the text must now be based. With characteristic liberality the authorities of the National Library in Paris allowed Dr. Klotz the free use of the MS. at Munich; and he studied it not only for the Achilleis, but also for the Thebais, with much diligence. The principal point which comes out from his investigations, for the first time (if I am not mistaken), is that the Puteaneus goes back ultimately to a very ancient copy defective in some places and damaged in the margin, but mediately to a later copy written in minuscules, as is evident from the nature of some of the errors. The earlier source was written in capitals (cf. safui for saevi in Theb. viii. 732), and not improbably belonged to the Iulianus who is referred to in the subscriptio to the fourth book of the Thebaid.

As representatives of the inferior class of interpolated MSS. Klotz has selected three, two already collated by Kohlmann, one his Paris MS. 10317 (Pc.), the other his codex Gudianus (G²), the third a codex Bruxellensis collated by Vollmer. He has also used an Eton MS. of a mixed class. To all these he assigns but little value, except when they support the Puteaneus, and of course he puts aside, greatly to the relief of his apparatus criticus, the great mass of the inferior MSS, which are of interest only as showing how rapid and extensive was the course of the corruption of the text.

Having collated the Puteaneus myself for the Achilleis I am able to bear witness to the greater accuracy of Klotz's readings as compared with Kohlmann's in dozens of places. The new editor has not introduced any conjectures of his own, but has printed a noteworthy suggestion of Krohn's 'timidoque rubet (for P's iuvet) servire magistro' (Ach. i. 863); and has once or twice accepted Wilamowitz's proposed alteration of punctuation. He ison more doubtful ground when he prints with P Pharsaliaeque nives (i. 152), and explains in a note Pharsaliaeve; Bachrens for once is safer with his 'Pharsalive.' It is not without its advantage that he often passes terse judgment on a tempting but needless emendation in his critical notes.

A. S. WILKINS.

The Art of Translating, with special reference to Cauer's 'Die Kunst des Uebersetzens.' By HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Ph.D., Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University. Pp. 79 (including title-page, &c.). Boston: Benj. H. Sanborn & Co. 1901. Price 70 cents.

PROF. TOLMAN'S little book will prove perhaps more interesting and stimulating than if it had aimed at being exhaustive. His chief debt, as already seen, is to P. Cauer; but he acknowledges help from Prof. W. G. Hale and other scholars, while he quotes freely from translations in Lane's Latin Grammar and Tyrrell's Latin Poetry. The canons laid down in it are generally sound, and on the whole are judiciously applied. One observation (p. 12) bears so directly upon one of our main difficulties in teaching Classics in England that I must transcribe it here:

'One ought to associate the words of a foreign language with the objects themselves, of which words are but vocal pictures. Take German, for instance: when the reader meets the word Baum there should recur at once to his mind the object itself, and not the English word tree...While he is merely reading German, the English tree should not intrude into the thought.'

The illustrative specimens are also in the main well selected and suitably annotated: the two first, an English version of a passage from Hugo's Le roi s'amuse and a German one of a stanza from Tennyson's 'Blow bugles, blow,' may be singled out as examples of the translator's art. But a book of this kind naturally challenges criticism at every turn. So when, to illustrate Cauer's dictum that 'the translator should always observe any broken syntax or obscurity there may be in the original,' Virgil's 'exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor' is rendered 'Arise, some avenger from my bones' (italics, of course, are mine), it must be noted that some is here un-English while bones is grotesque, and that 'Arise, Avenger, from my ashes!' would be a pre-ferable rendering. On p. 56 Prof. Tolman blames the customary translation of 'L'état c'est moi,' 'I am the State,' as tame, and

prefers 'The State-it is I.' He forgets that the proud monarch, if uttering his vaunt in English, would 'spake' his I 'in italies,' and that while 'the State-it is I' is, to say the least, not ordinary English, the French phrase is the sole expression of the sense The question of dialect is doubtless a delicate one; but I do not expect Prof. Tolman to adopt the defence of one of his countrymen whose idioms I had criticised, and to quote Theocritus for proof that 'Dorians may talk in Doric an they please.' I should imagine that he would reject this plea as provincial, admit that the literary English κοινή is the proper vehicle for published English translations, and perhaps concede that, when he translates Ennius' couplet

Ego deum genus esse dixi et dicam caelitum; sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus

as 'I maintain and always shall maintain that there is a race of gods up in heaven, but they don't bother, I guess, (my italics) about what men do here,' he is, from this point of view, translating dignified Latin into undignified American.

J. P. P.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

PHILLIMORE'S PROPERTIUS.

I hope in the course of a few months to get sufficient leisure from professional duties to make a detailed reply to the various censors who have criticised my edition of *Propertius*. I shall then have the pleasure of confronting Mr. J. Arbuthnot Nairn with Schulze who hails with approbation the fact that even in England there is a revolt against the re-writing school of critics.

against the re-writing school of critics.

For the moment I desire only to call attention to one matter in the Classical Review's recent article upon my Propertius.

Mr. Nairn appears to be a slave to what I may call the 'progress-and-reaction' fallacy.

To call an edition 'progressive' or 'reactionary' is respectively with some critics to bless it or to damn it; without regard to the question 'Is it progress away from, or reaction towards, what (according to the existing evidence) Propertius wrote?'

I leave (says Mr. Nairn) the text of Propertius in the state in which it was 20 years ago. I fear it may horrify him even

more if I confess that in my belief Propertius is more authentically given in Beroaldus' edition than in the new Corpus after 400 years of Progress. But as for the last 20 years, how does the case stand ? There have been two main trends, represented, the one by Rothstein (illustrating the text of Vahlen very slightly altered), with the caution and humility of erudite and sympathetic scholarship-and the other by the dogmatic Nolo interpretari of the 'wildcat' school of English humanists, out-Bachrensing Bachrens when Baehrens had been disavowed by the mass of continental critics. Between these two I have made my choice. And I am content to be called a disappointing and belated editor, for the same stigma may be applied for the same reason to all editors of Milton since Bentley, who do not swallow Bentley's rewritings of Paradise Lost, and to all editors of Aeschylus who leave Agamemnon still pretty much as it was before Mr. Margoliouth's recension.

Within the limits of my present reference, I will only add this that Mr. Nairn's citation from my *Preface*, p. v. is, to put it in round terms, neither fair quotation nor sane reasoning. After summarizing the direct data for a text I went on to name, in a separate paragraph, two commentators. I added the obvious reservation in the case of Rothstein.¹

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1 'Interpretum praecipuos habuimus Hertzberg et Rothstein, utrumque in tradita codicum auctoritate vindicanda felicissimum, quamvis ille apparatu critico niteretur mendoso, hic locupletissimam eruditionem Mr. Nairn ignores it. Draw out the logical major premiss of his argument and it is this: 'No editor can be critical, who praises among commentaries a commentary which has no ad hoc recension accompanying it': which seems hard on Rothste'n, on Vahlen (not least), and on me,—and on the reader who judges a book by the judgment of the Classical Review.

J. S. PHILLIMOBE.

totum in commentarios non in recensionem iustam largitus sit.'

VERSIONS.

Cassius.

Hear me, good brother,-

Brutus.

Under your pardon:—you must note beside That we have tried the utmost of our friends:

Our legions are brim-full, our cause is ripe: The enemy increaseth every day; We, at the height, are ready to decline. There is a tide in the affairs of men Which taken at the flood leads on to

fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of our life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it
serves.

Or lose our ventures.

SHAKESPEARE, Julius Caesar IV 3.

A. Καὶ μὴν ἄκουσον ἐν μέρει κάμοῦ τόδε,—

Β. μήπω γε, δεῖ καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἐννοεῖν, ὅτι χρέος τὸ πιστόν ἐσμεν ἐκ τοῦ πυθμένος πράξαντες· ὀργῷ πάντα, πληθύει στρατός· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἰσχὺς αὔξεται καθ' ἡμέραν, ἡμῖν δ' ἐτοῖμος ἀκμάσασ' ἤδη φθίνειν. ῥεῖ τοι βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐροοῦντα δὲ ἡν μὲν λάβη τις, πλεῖ ξὺν οὐρίᾳ τύχη· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀμάρτη, βράχεσι καὶ δυσπραξίαις ξυνὼν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου ναυτίλλεται. τοιῷδε χἤμᾶς καιρὸς ἐν πλημμυρίδι πλεῖν, ἡ παρέντας ἐμπολῆς ἀμαρτάνειν.
 W. ΗΕΑDLAM.

MARGARET AND DORA.

Margaret's beauteous: Grecian arts Ne'er drew form completer, Yet why, in my heart of hearts, Hold I Dora sweeter ?

Dora's eyes of heavenly blue Pass all painting's reach, Ringdove's notes are discord to The music of her speech.

Artists! Margaret's smile receive, And on canvas show it; But for perfect worship leave Dora to her poet. T. CAMPBELL. 1802? IDEM GRAECE REDDITUM.

Μορφή μὲν προέχει κούρη χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοία Λευκονόη, θείας ὥσπερ ἄγαλμα τέχνης. Μᾶλλον ἔμοιγ' ἔμπας Δωρὶς περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖται, ἱμερόεν γλαυκοῖς ὅμμασι δερκομένη, Τῆς, ὁπόταν φθέγξηται, ἔρωτ' αὐδῶσα πελειὰς τραχύτερον προΐει λειριόεσσαν ὅπα.

Τὴν μὲν δή, δύνασαι γάρ, ἀγαλματοποί' ἀφομοίου·

Μοῦσα φίλη, σὰ δ' ἐμοὶ Δωρίδ' ἔσωθε γράφε. L. CAMPBELL. 1902.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

HUDDILSTON ON GREEK POTTERY.

Lessons from Greek Pottery. By J. H. Huddilston. Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1902. Pp. xiv., 144; 18 illustrations. 8vo. 5s.

Mr. Huddilston modestly styles his work Lessons from Greek Pottery; but he does not clearly indicate to the general reader what lessons he is expected to learn therefrom. While avoiding, perhaps wisely, any attempt at a handbook on Greek vasepainting in general, he has rather erred in the opposite direction, and produced a vague scrappy compilation with no particular aim or system. The vases are considered in their relation to the higher arts, to Greek religion, history, and daily life, and to literature; but though the author exhibits a wide acquaintance with Greek vase-paintings he has somehow failed to make the book a very readable one. We are also disappointed with the illustrations. Two of these are photographs (not particularly instructive) of the Vase Rooms of the British Museum and Berlin Antiquarium; these are followed by four reproductions of shapes of vases from Furtwaengler's Berlin Catalogue. The latter, it seems to us, are quite useless without any textual accompaniment, and there is no section of the work dealing with shapes of vases in any form. Surely it would have been more satisfactory to take a few typical forms as is done in the British Museum Departmental Guide and in M. Pottier's Catalogue of the Louvre vases, and devote a section of the text to an account of them; as it is, the majority of forms on the Berlin plates are so to speak ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, conveying in the rough outline drawings no clear notion to the average reader, and of little interest except to the specialist.

We can speak more favourably of the second part of the work, a carefully arranged bibliography, which ought to be useful even to those who are well acquainted with the subject. But it is misleading to range Boehlau's Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen under the heading 'Mycenaean,' while the article by F. Duemmler referred to on the top of p. 117 is not a description of 'Corintho-Attic' but of a class of Ionian vases, and should have been inserted on p. 115. Further, why is Holwerda's article on the Corintho-Attic vases placed under the heading of

'Corinthian,' and Thiersch's monograph on the same subject under a separate heading 'Tyrrhenian,' while for Hauser's article, also dealing with these vases, the reader is referred on to the section 'Early and Black-figured Attic'! Under the heading 'Lower Italy' etc. (p. 123) it seems a pity to jumble together primitive Italian and the later Hellenic wares from Southern Italy; nor do we find any entries whatsoever referring to the local pottery of Etruria. The list of catalogues of collections would have been better arranged geographically (or museographically) than by names of authors in alphabetical order. But with a few corrections and additions the bibliography would become really valuble; it might, however, be worth while to note when a work or article was out of date and useless. Lastly the book would be greatly improved by a revision of the illustrations; at present only eleven reproductions of vase-paintings are given, of which no less than nine belong practically to the same period; even though that is the finest and most typical, a greater variety would be welcome as well as more instructive.

H. B. WALTERS.

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JOULIN'S GALLO-ROMAN SETTLE-MENTS.

Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes. Par Léon Joulin. Extrait des mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Paris: Klincksieck, 1901. 4to. pp. 300.

Martres-Tolosanes is a tiny town on the Upper Garonne, thirty-five miles south-west of Toulouse and near the boundary of the Roman provinces Aquitania and Narbonensis. Both the town and its neighbourhood have long been recognized as rich in Roman remains of a very remarkable kind, and more or less unsystematic excavations have been undertaken at various dates since 1632. At last in 1897–9 the place has been scientifically explored, and M. Joulin, chief director of the work, has issued in the volume before me an exhaustive and admirably illustrated account of his results, and of the principal discoveries made previous to 1897.

The area of Gallo-roman occupation near Martres covers some fifteen square miles on the north bank of the Garonne and contains at least eight villas or villages. Chief among these is the group of buildings close to Martres itself, at Chiragan. This is a 'villa' almost as large as a town. Its boundary wall embraces forty acres and the internal buildings comprise a sumptuous mansion, covering six acres with its spacious courts and elaborate suite of baths; three or perhaps four rows of cottages, and some considerable structures of which the precise use is less obvious. The mansion, according to M. Joulin, was built under Augustus, rebuilt and enlarged first under Trajan and then under Pius or Marcus, and finally repaired and restored early in the fourth century. These dates may be a little hypothetical, but the house doubtless existed during the greater part of the Roman Empire. Soon after A.D. 400 it was burnt down-probably in that barbarian invasion of 407-8 when

uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo.

The period of its splendour seems to have been the second and early third centuries. Then it was adorned with sculptures and statuary, which are unparalleled for number and excellence on any site outside Rome, except the Imperial villa of Hadrian below Tivoli. possess, of course, only fragments of the originals, but we possess, as fragments, some 260 considerable pieces of architectural and plastic art, well-carved pilasters, decorative series such as the labours of Hercules, busts and large medallions of gods, portraits of Emperors and other Romans. Almost all is good art, and every artistic style known to the early Empire is well represented. The reliefs of the Labours of Hercules imitate the Pergamene sculptures and despite a few defects in the way of exaggerated muscles and too short bodies, the imitation is not at all unsuccessful: it is, moreover, an imitation carried out at Martres itself, for the marble used in the reliefs belongs to Pyrenean quarries. The busts and medallions of Greek and Roman gods are also Greek in style, and some of them may well be Greek in workmanship: they vary much in merit, but the best pieces, like the Venus of Martres, are admirable. Still more remarkable are the Roman portrait busts, some eighty in number. One is an interesting idealized head of Augustus, closely resembling the bust with the corona civilis in the Munich Glyptothek. The rest belong to that vigorous original Roman school of portraiture

which sprang up towards the end of the first century and extended from Trajan to the period of eclipse in the third century. Almost every Emperor in this hundred and fifty years is represented, and of some there are several busts-four, for instance, of Trajan-and the pieces are not local copies, but contemporary sculptures made (as it would seem) in Rome. No such portrait gallery existed elsewhere in the Roman world as known to us, and it is pardonable to speculate on the owners of this great house. M. Joulin suspects the official residence of procurators or of governors of Narbonensis (rather, Aquitania), and it would indeed be possible to explain the multiplicity of busts of single Emperors by imagining that each new official set up a new bust. But it is equally open to us to suspect the country seat of a noble Gaulish family, heirs of some not discontented Iulius Sacrovir or Vindex. Unfortunately we know no names, either of the site or of its inhabitants. Only we see that here in this Pyrenean valley, the provincial life of Aquitania, in its political and artistic sympathies, its wealth and its educated taste, is more than Italian, and, whether Imperial officials or native nobles dwelt there, we can realise the capacities of a Roman province.

The site was worth describing well and M. Joulin has been equal to his task. Beyond regretting the absence of any list or scale of the excellent plates and noticing that the records of coins on pp. 265-291 and 292-5 do not quite tally, there seems nothing for even the severer critic to censure. Happy would the student of the Roman Empire be, if other provincial sites could be so fully described and so well illustrated.

F. HAVERFIELD.

THE ANNUAL OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS, 1900-1901.

Mr. Arthur Evans' report of the 1901 campaign at Crossus may fairly be considered the chief interest of the British School Annual. The excavation extended from February 27 to June 17, and both Mr. Evans and his colleagues, Dr. Duncan Mackensie and Mr. D. T. Fyte, have good reason to be proud of their year's work. The clearing of the central court of the palace and the buildings adjoining it on the least side make its plan much more comprehensible, and show plainly its intimate relations with the more homogeneous building excavated by the Italian archaeologists at Phaestus.

archaeologists at rhaestus.

Further work on the previous year's discoveries has resulted in the clearing of the large western court, which Mr. Evans believes to have been the 'agora,' and a prolongation of the adjoining gallery with its

magazines: the discoveries of 1901, chiefly on the south and east portions of the site, include an olive press, baths, a sculptor's workshop containing magnificent stone vases, some unfinished, in the best Mycenean style, and, most remarkable of all, a staircase of four flights leading from the level of the central court to well-preserved columned rooms giving on to the east slope of the hill.

A bold departure from tradition which cannot but be approved has been the roofing of the throne room, and the underpropping of several of the high walls of the eastern hillside: the great interest of the throne room is acknowledged, and experience has shown that its materials are not such as to stand exposure; some shelter therefore was necessary if it was to be preserved in its entirety: the roofing and enclosure have been carried out simply, and as far as possible in accordance with Myceneau models, while at the same time there is no confusion between old and new work. The walls referred to, depending originally on wooden lintels, have been till now supported only by accumulated rubbish, the removal of which for excavation has necessitated new supports if the extraordinary depth of the site was to be fully

In the sphere of colour decoration and sculpture the finds are no less important than in that of architecture: they include fragments of human figures, life-size and skilfully modelled in gesso relief, of similar technique to the now famous bull's head, a small steatite relief of a boxer, practically complete, and an elaborate gaming-board (unfortunately fragmentary) executed in gilt ivory, eyanass, and crystal. Gem engraving, a highly developed branch of Mycanaean art, is represented by a large number of clay impressions with fantastic types, discovered together with the baked clay documents they guaranteed; the latter appear to contain the royal accounts. Similar deposits have been found in the newly discovered 'summer palace' at Hagia Trias near Phaestus, and at Zakro, the latter trouvaille including some impressions identical with those at Cnossus, and probably from the same gem. Of the frescoes one of superlative interest exhibits the well-known bull-fighting motive, but in this case the participants are girls, reminding us, as Mr. Evans remarks, of the traditional relations of Chossus and Athens as shewn in the legend of the tribute of Attie youths and maidens sent annually to be devoured by the bull of Mines

Of the early connection between Crete and Egypt we have fresh evidence in an alabastron lid bearing the cartouche of the Hyksős King Khyan (dating approximately 1800 B.C.) which was found beneath the foundation of an carly Mycenean wall of the palace. Mr. Evans has also discovered at Cnossus certain forms of vases closely related to those of

prehistoric Egypt.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth contributes an account of the excavation of two sites at Zakro, a Mycenean trading station in Eastern Crete. Both appear to have been deserted at the close of the Mycenean period, and the earlier (Epáno Zakro) dates only from the later years of the pre-Mycenean Camáres period; here the remains were found in pits, and probably represent deposits of votive articles, mainly pottery, but including also fragments of obsidian and bronze: the vases, many of which are entire, are chiefly of the finest Mycenean period, one-fifth only being of the transitional style between Camáres and Mycenean: the sherds are not stratified and were either buried at one time, or turned over by later comers in search of metal: in the lower settlement numerous plans of houses, including two pillar rooms, have

been disclosed; the type of house stands midway between the palace and the simple one or tworoomed cottages found at Mycenae and elsewhere; Mr. Carr Bosanquet's excavations this year at Paleocastro show that it usually possessed an upper storey in which the chief living rooms were situated. The houses are of late Mycenaean date, and the finds are uniformly of the same period. The most important of these are the clay sealings alluded to above and described in the Journal of Hellenic Studies (xxii, 76).

Such graves as have been discovered in the neighbouring caves date earlier than the settlements. The human remains found in them form the subject of a separate paper by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, who attributes them, after comparison with similar skulls from Mycenean sites, to the dolichocephalic and probably melanochrous aboriginals of the Mediterranean.

A most ingenious and convincing identification by Dr. Wilhelm of two widely separated fragments of an Athenian honorary inscription, preserved at the British School and the British Museum respectively, concludes the strictly archaeological portion of the Annual, the last pages being occupied by the affairs of the School.

The publication is as usual judiciously illustrated with plans, photographs, and workmanlike ink-drawings.

F. W. HASLUCK.

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MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Ferento (Ferentinum), Etruria. — Several tombs have been excavated here, of the archaic period. In the first were two b.f. Attic amphorae containing calcined bones. On one the subjects are Herakles strangling the Nemean lion in the presence of Athena and Hermes, and Dionysos reclining, attended by Seilenos and a Maenad; on the other, obv., a bearded man with dog and ephebos with cock; rev., a bearded man with goat and youth with cock and hen. The latter vase has been mended in antiquity. Among other contents were a crescent-shaped sacrificial iron knife, an early Corinthian olse of the 'imbricated' class, and bucchero ware. The other tombs contained vases of impasto and bucchero wares, some of the latter being good examples of the class.

Rome.—Near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, in the Forum, a discovery has been made of a very early tomb, of the pozzo or pit-type, the first which it has been possible to connect with the primitive dwellers on the sacred hill of Pales. The depth at which it was found shews that the neighbouring heights had already been for some time inhabited. The date is probably near that of the traditional epoch of the founding of Rome. This tomb contained a large dolium in which were nine vases of primitive type, one being a cinerary urn with two handles, the cover of which is shaped like those of the hut-urns from Alba Longa, in the form of a roof with raised markings to represent the timbers.²

Investigations have yielded traces of the gardens of Sallust, in which Vespasian lived, including a crypto-porticus, and a leaden water-pipe inscribed:
IMP CAES AVG VESPASIANI | SVB CVRA CALLISTI AVG

¹ Notizie degli Scavi, March 1902.

² Ibid. and Athenaeum, 9 Aug. 1902.

L PROC. The pipe is formed of sections each nine feet long, marked with numbers which are not consecutive and not easy to explain (see Bull. Comm. Arch., June 1902). In the neighbourhood were found two sepulchral cells with columbaria, in opus reticulatum, built by a joint-stock company under the trusteeship of C. Sallustius Faustus. A mosaic panel let into the wall of the columbaria is inscribed in red, blue, and green letters: D M | CLAVDIAE ACTE | SCANTIVS TELESDHORVS COLVGI R'M; the husband's mis-spelled name is of course Telesphorus; the lady is probably not the mistress of Nero. There is also in not the mistress of Nero. There is also in the adjoining chamber an inscription to Q. Brutius, a cattle-dealer (mercator bovarius de campo), who is described as temperate, chaste, and lovable: 'dum vixit placuit.' Adjoining this monument are two cippi inscribed with the name of one of the share-holders in the company, Titus Foesenus Diocles, and that of his wife.' that of his wife.4

Under the church of the Carmelites an ancient cemetery has been brought to light. In it was an inscription to one L. Laelius Fuscus, whose military career can be traced through a period of forty-two years. He began as a volunteer in a cavalry regiment, and was then successively captain in the first battalion of Firemen, captain of the Statores Augusti, of the thirteenth battalion Urbani, of the tenth battalion Pretoriani, and lastly of the seventh legion

Claudia Pia.5

Subsequently two more primitive tombs have been discovered in the same region as that described above, between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina and that of Maxentius. The first consists of the usual large dolium containing a hut-urn with incinerated remains and nine cups; in the roof of the hut-urn were two openings like skylights, and one of the cups had supports like human feet. The other tomb was that of a child which had been inhumated and placed in a coffin formed from the hollowed-out trunk of a tree. In the Esquiline cemetery yet another group of early graves has come to light, serving to confirm the Roman tradition about the origin of the city and its connection with Alba Longa. The remains are similar to those recently found in the Alban hills (see below under Grottaferrata).

In digging the foundation of a new building on the site of the Domus Valeriorum on the Caelian, remains of the peristyle were found, consisting of a row of marble bases and one column with Ionic The Hermae at the crossings of the paths are still in situ, and in the intercolumniations of the peristyle were marble statues of the members of the family, with clogia on the pedestals. One of these was given by the Corporation of Marruvium in the Marsian territory; a fragment of the Fasti Consulares Minores (A.B. 3-6) was also found.⁷

Aquae Albulae .- Several Hermae recently found here are probably from the gardens of this fashionable resort. One represents a female head of a very pleasing type; another, headless, is inscribed ΘΕΣΓΙΣ ΘΕΜΩΝΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ. The

former is archaistic in style. On a fragmentary marble bracket is a metrical inscription describing how a man whose name is lost recovered his health at the springs numinis auxilio (i.c. of the Nymphae Albulae) and offered them a statuette of gilt bronze (fulgentem auro).2

Tivoli .- The chamber in which two weighingtables (mense ponderarie) were found in 1883 (C.I.L. xiv. 3687-88) has been fully explored. Two rectangular bases covered with slabs of giallo antico were found, with inscriptions showing that the mensae were set up by Diphilus, a freedman, who also erected three statues of his patrons M. Lartidius and Varena Major. There was also found an elegant marble pilaster with a panel in which was a figure of Hercules in low relief, bearded, with club and lion's skin, but wearing a feminine chiton and apoptygma with The rest of the pilaster is ornamented with panels of foliage and scroll-patterns, all being bor-dered with Lesbian kymatia. The type of Hercules may be that of H. Tiburtinus, or H. Victor, whose sanctuary was famous in the neighbourhood; he is often mentioned in local inscriptions.1

Grottaferrata (near Frascati). - A series of tombs a pozzo (pit-tombs with cremated bodies) has been brought to light, the pottery from which is closely parallel to that of the tomb in the Forum (see above), and may be classed with that of the Villanova period. It includes a cinerary urn with incised patterns of triangles, chevrons, and a 'swastika,' a hut-urn, a one-handled bowl with incised markings, and several fibulae with arched bows of the sanguisuga (leech) type, which mark the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age. 8

Pozzuoli.-A sepulchral monument has been excavated, with a statue of Imperial Roman date, in Carrara marble. It probably dates from the reigns of Trajan or Hadrian, the arrangement of the hair recalling that of Marciana, while that and the headdress generally suggest a parallel with the Vestal in the Museo delle Terme at Rome. The face is not

remarkable for beauty. 9
Pompeii.—On the walls of a house belonging to Samellius Modestus were found painted 'election bills,' recommending the owner for an aedileship because he was a *iuvenis probus*. Close by stood the house of Lucretius Fronto, adorned with a similar manifesto in red, which runs as follows :-

SI'PVDOR'IN'VITA'QVICQVAM'PRODESSE'PVTATVR LVCRETIVS 'HIC'FRONTO 'DIGNVS'HONORE'BENE'EST.6

Pisticci (Lucania).—A recent find of painted vases, now in the museum at Tarentum, includes several of interest. The best are a r.f. amphora with a toilet scene and a r.f. hydria with Peleus pursuing Thetis; also a krater with column-handles representing Dion; sos riding on a mule and accompanied by a Maenad and Seilenos. With these were sundry Maenad and Seilenos. With these were sundry local geometrical fabrics of 'Iapygian' type. 10

Padula (Lucania). - Some interesting architectural remains have come to light, including sixteen drums of fluted columns, two large sculptured capitals, and two headless draped statues, all of local limestone. The capitals are of special interest; they are surrounded with conventional foliage about half way up, above which, between volutes, are heads or busts in high relief supporting the abacus. On one capital are heads of the youthful Herakles in lion's skin, two Maenads, one with a vine-wreath, and Dionysos or a young Satyr; on the other, heads of Seilenos, youthful Pan, Medusa, and a youth wearing wreath. The style, which recalls the heads among foliage on the vases of Apulia, may be described as Italo-

Notizie, 1902, pp. 95, 269, 287; Athenaeum,
 Aug. and 25 Oct.
 Notizie degli Scavi, Feb. 1902, and Athenaeum,

⁶ Sept.

Athenacum, 6 Sept. Athenacum, 25 Oct.

⁷ Ibid.; and see Notizie, Apr. 1902, p. 268.

Notizie degli Scavi, April 1902. 7 Ibid. Feb. 1902.

¹⁰ Notizie, May 1902.

Corinthian with a substratum of Ionic, and indicates the early appearance of Corinthian influence in Italian architecture, the date being about the third

century B.C. 11

Gioia Tauro (Metaurum in Bruttii). - An interesting discovery has been made of architectural terracottas [in many respects similar to those of Lord Savile at Civita Lavinia]. Among them is part of a γείσον or raking cornice with Doric kymation painted in red and brown and cable, guilloche, and chequer patterns. [Cf. B 609 in Brit. Mus. from Civita Lavinia.] Besides fragments of cornices with chequer patterns, lions' masks forming spouts, and fragments of human figures, may be mentioned part of a metope [or antefix?] with design in high relief: two horses of a chariot seen from the front, with the driver's arm. This may be aptly compared with the Selinus metope (Benndorf, pl. 3). In all the fragments are holes for attachment to a wooden backing

las seen at Civita Lavinia]. It is obvious that a temple yet remains to be discovered here. Reggio.—Some small balls of red clay have recently been found inscribed with names (presumably of owners) in archaic characters, probably of the first half of the fifth century B.C. Archaic inscriptions from Rhegium are decidedly rare (cf. Roberts, Gk. Epigr. p. 204, and Head, Hist. Num. for coins), but the inscriptions on these balls bear out the supposition that the alphabet had Chalcidian affinities. the characteristic letters are < for Γ , D for Δ , and

P for P. The name Thrasys appears in the form Θράρυς. A marble fragment with inscription has also been found giving the names of various sacrificial dignities : leροκήρυξ, leροσαλπιστής, leροπαρέκτης, and σπονδαύλης. 11

Grammichele (near Syracuse).-In 1898 a series of terracottas were found in a cave sacred to Demeter; they are now in the Museum at Syracuse. They inthey are now in the Museum at Syracuse. They include (1) female heads about three inches high with diadems in the style of about 400 B.C.; (2) part of a group of Demeter and Kore seated side by side, wearing calathi (late archaic work); (3) two busts of Demeter and Kore, similar in type and style; (4) two female busts of fine style [cf. D7 ff. in Brit, Mus.] with richly waved hair and calathos adorned with rosettes; (5) two large heads of later (fourth century) type, also with calathos. typical Sicilian fabrics, resembling those published by Kekulé in his Terracotten von Sicilien.

Vizzini.—Tombs of late Greek date (third to second century B.C.) have been excavated. They contained

little however except a mirror-handle with square panel on which is a seated meditating woman in relief, like the Penelope of the Vatican. The sides of the panel are in the form of tree-trunks. The figure seems to be a third-century imitation of an Attic fifth-century original. A piece of acs grave should also be mentioned; it weighs 23 5 gr., and has an astragalus on either side. The type is a very rare one, but seems to be the libral uncia of the fourth century (one-twelfth of the Latin libra of 272 gr.), and has been attributed to Sutrium. The finding of this piece in Sicily is very curious, but two similar pieces of acs grave are also reported from the neighbourhood of Camarina.⁸

TURKEY.

Saloniki.-An inscription on a large column which had been built into a well in the east of this city contains the words τῷ δήμφ τῆς Θεσσαλονικέων μητροπόλεως και κολωνείας. It is dated "Ετους ΓΦΕ, which is equivalent to A.D. 145, and shews that Thessalonica was already a colony in the second century, though previously it had been supposed that it was only made one in the third, after the part it played in the Gothic wars. 12

Hysiae (Achladokampos in Argolis). - An ancient tomb has been found, covered with two stone slabs, one of which turned out to be a marble stele with pilaster-cap of Hellenistic type in low relief, used to cover up the later grave. On the stele is a small prinsipal current of the later grave. On the stele is a small relief possibly belonging to the second usage of the stone, representing Asklepios, Hygieia, and Telesphoros. 13

Dimini, Thessaly.—A Mycenaean beehive tomb has been excavated, but only contained some gold plates and chains and small glass objects. On the top of the same hill a prehistoric settlement has come to light in which were found flint knives and vasefragments with geometrical designs which seem to be

a new local fabric.13

Thera. - Herr Hiller von Gaertringen has published the results of his most recent excavations, which include many interesting inscriptions. A large number are of the archaic period; they also include a law of the fourth century, a decree of προξενία for a Samian (styled πρυτανίων γνώμα) dating from the third century, and a decision of the council of Bachistae on behalf of Ladamas a Ptolemaic officer in command $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho l \ a \hat{\nu} \lambda \hat{\eta} \nu \delta \iota a \delta \delta \chi \omega \nu$. All these were from the neighbourhood of the Agora. The city fortification-walls prove to be of the Byzantine period. Built into the side of a cistern below the gymnasion was a dedication of an ἀλειπτήριον to Hermes and Herakles, about 230 B.C.; here also were found a brazier inscribed EBIM (Zevs) and three more fragments of a decree already published in Hermes, 1901, p. 444. In a cemetery to the south of the city rich finds were made of late and orientalising geometrical vases, also good gold ornaments of about 750 to 650 s.c. A museum has now been built to contain all the recent finds. 14

CRETE.

Knossos. - Mr. Arthur Evans' report of the past season's work (Feb. —June 1902) shews very fertile results, the palace being found to extend further to the east than had been expected, sloping down in terraces. The new rooms adjoining the principal halls of the eastern quarter were full of interest, two storeys being laid bare, with staircases, bath-rooms, etc., and evidences of an extensive drainage system. They contained interesting remains of fres naturalistic foliage and flowers, fish, and a lady in jacket and chemise. Another fresco from last year's excavations has been reconstituted and shews a scene from a bull-light in which girl-toreadors take part. Numerous inscribed tablets were found, with ideo-graphic signs (swords, thrones, and sceptres, and granaries); many referred to percentages, the King's portion being indicated by his ideograph of the throne and sceptre. Linear characters were found on a fragment of a Mycenaean vase, and two cups had inscriptions written in ink. In the magazines of an earlier building at a lower level were found large

11 Ibid. Jan. 1902,

Berl. Phil. Woch. 26 July.
 Athen. Mitth. xxvi. (1901), pt. 2, p. 235.
 Ibid. pt. 3-4, p. 422.

quantities of Kamarais pottery of extreme delicacy. One remarkable discovery was that of a series of porcelain plaques forming a mosaic, some of which represent the fronts of houses of several storeys; the details of construction are reproduced with marvellous fidelity, and the houses with paned and glazed windows are astonishingly modern in appearance. Not less remarkable was the discovery of remains of ivory figurines, carved in the round, with jointed limbs, representing youths in the act of springing; the modelling and rendering of anatomical detail are so exquisite as to place these figures on a higher plane than any other remains of the age. In a stratum belonging to the pre-Mycenaean building were found remains of a model of a temple in painted terracotta, and in the palace itself numerous finds illustrated the cult of the double axe. A shrine with sacrificial vessels, and various cult-objects still in situ was found among the later Mycenaean remains, and in an

found among the later Mycenaean remains, and in an eastern corridor of the palace were wall-paintings representing a series of labyrinths.

*Palaeokastro.**—The British School conducted excavations here in the spring of 1902, with very interesting results, including remains of Mycenaean houses and tombs with remarkable painted vases.

H. B. Walters.

Journal International d'archéologie numismatique.

Part 1 and 2, 1902. Agnes Baldwin. 'The gold coinage of Lampsacus. Agnes bandwin. The grave serviceable and carefully compiled monograph on the Lampsacene gold staters. Miss Baldwin has brought together specimens of Miss Baldwin has brought together specifically thirty-seven types which are illustrated in three photographic plates.—G. F. Hill. 'The supposed gold coin with hieroglyphs.'—J. N. Svoronos. 'On the supposed gold δοκίμιον with hieroglyphs.'—G. Pattari. 'The gold coin with hieroglyphs.' In the Dattari. 'The gold coin with hieroglyphs. first of these three papers, Hill impugns the genuineness of the curious piece which was first described by Maspero and then figured by Hill, as a forgery, in the Numismatic Chronicle. Svoronos replies to Hill and to my own remarks (which were entirely on the same side as Hill's) in the Classical Review for March of the present year. While appropriate the of the present year. While approving 'the prudent reservations' of his English colleagues, Svoronos maintains the view that this piece is ancient, though not a coin, but a weight for a coin or rather (to use his own words) 'not simply a 'weight' but an instru-ment which served for the control of the weight and at the same time of the quality of the metal which might vary greatly for staters of the same weight. M. Dattari, who is of the same opinion as Svoronos, responds to my inquiry as to whether he made his statement about the provenance of this piece (i.e. that it was part of a find of undoubtedly genuine gold staters) from his own knowledge or from hear-He states that he was not on the spot when the hoard was found though he does not doubt the accuracy of his informants. From these articles and those previously published, the numismatist can now, probably, form a fair opinion as to the authenticity of this hieroglyphic coin or weight.—J. N. Svoronos Φειδώνειον τὸ Θιβρώνειον νόμισμα. This article also Φειδώνειον τὸ Θιβρώνειον νόμισμα. This article also appears (in French) in the Rev. Num. Part 3, 1902.

A. Dieudonné. 'Ptolémaïs—Lebedus.' Discusses the attribution of two series of bronze coins inscribed NTO. (i) Obv. Head of a Ptolemy. Rev. Athena.

(ii) Obv. Head of Ptolemaic queen. Rev. Seated Triptolemus? The type, and still more, the names of magistrates that appear on these pieces indicate Lebedus in Ionia as a probable mint-place. If this attribution is correct, the name of that city must for a time have been changed to Ptolemais. Dieudonné identifies the obverse heads as those of Ptolemy III. Euergetes and his wife Berenice II. A third series of bronze inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ &c. (Obv. Head of Apollo. Rev. Amphora) is also discussed. These have been attributed to Ptolemais-Ace in Galilee and also (Brit. Mus. Cat. Thrace, p. 204) to a supposed Thracian dynast Ptolemaeus. The last attribution is demonstrably wrong and Ptolemais-Ace is not probable. Waddington classed them (as also the above-mentioned bronze pieces with NTO) to Lebedus, though without leaving a record of his reasons. Dieudonné justly remarks that the attribution to Lebedus of the ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ coins is not so well made out as is that of the ITO ages antiques à Alexandrie ou ses environs.'—J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie. Agos anti-tage and the state of the state o

Rivista italiana di Numismata. Part 3. 1902

F. Gnecchi, 'Appunti di num. Romana,' Description of inedited Roman coins in the collection of Cologne.—Dattari, 'Appunti di J. Lückger, of Cologne.—Dattari. 'Appunti di numismatica Alessandrina.' Chronology of the family of Carus. - Domitius Domitianus (with

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 3. 1902.

G. Macdonald. 'The coinage of Tigranes I.' brief but important examination of the coinage of Tigranes which probably falls between B.C. 83 when he became master of Syria and B.C. 69, the period of his humiliation by Lucullus. The whole coinage appears to be of Syrian and not of Armenian mintage. It is divided by Macdonald into three periods. On the coins of period III dates of the Seleucid Era occur, equivalent to 71-69 B.C. In period II. Macdonald points out a hitherto unnoticed series of dates which he well supposes to be reckoned from B.C. 111 the Era of Antiochos VIII, Grypus. These coins therefore belong to B.C. 77-73. The coins of period I are undated. The pieces assigned to periods I and III bear the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, those of period II, the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ BAΣIΛΕΩN. Macdonald does not offer any comment on the curious abandonment of the title BASINE OS BASINE OS and the substitution, in period III, of the single ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The use of $BA\Sigma I \Lambda E \Omega \Sigma$ $BA\Sigma I \Lambda E \Omega N$ is equally puzzling on the regal coinage of Parthia, as I have already pointed out in the Numismatic

Chronicle, 1900, p. 188.

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American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiii. No. 2. 1902.

Problems in Greek Syntax (II. the Article), B. L. Gildersleeve. Word accent in Early Latin Verse (II.), J. J. Schlicher. Pierre d'Urte and the Bask Language, E. S. Dodgson. Epicurea, W. A. Heidel. Some derived Word-bases, Francis A. Heidel. (I. I.-Eur. kel and derivatives.) Note. New Conjectures on Parthenius, περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων, R. Ellis. Review, Reports, Brief Mention, etc.

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E. S. Thompson (Stender). 'An excellent introduction to the study of the Platonic philosophy. S. Linde, Adversaria in latinos scriptores (W. Gemoll). Chiefly on Seneca the philosopher. Favourable. Tegge, Kompendium der griechischen und römischen Altertümer. II. Kömische Altertümer.

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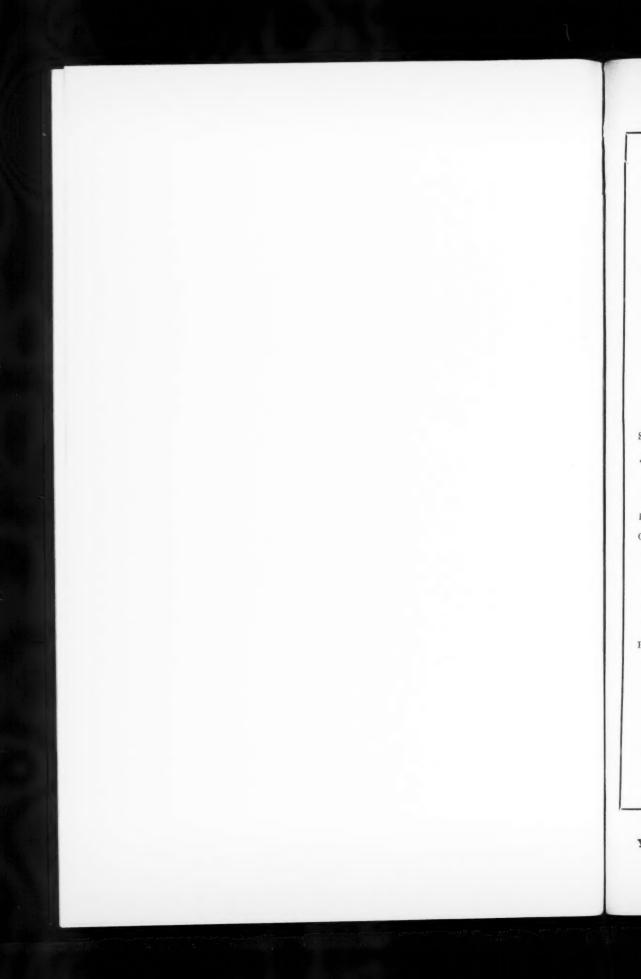
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